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Palestinian Workers Celebrate May 1

Workers looking for wage labour at Jerusalem's "slave market".

Israeli military authorities prevented the West Bank's two labour federations from holding celebrations marking International Workers Day, May 1. Different blocs within the West Bank Federation of Workers headed by Adel Ghanem held separate rallies in Jerusalem and Ramallah, where Israeli authorities did not impose restrictions. The other West Bank Federation of Workers headed by Shehadeh Menawi plans to hold a celebration in Jerusalem Monday, May 6.

Adel Ghanem said Israeli authorities summoned him and Menawi to Nablus military headquarters and informed them that they were not allowed to hold rallies for May 1. Israeli authorities had also prevented April 28 a delegation of the executive committee of Menawi's federation from crossing the Jordan River. Authorities returned Menawi and executive members Farouq Jubran, Mahmoud Sharbini, Ahmad Baidoun, and Shaher Sa'ed at the Damia bridge.

The Progressive Workers Bloc of Ghanem's federation held a massive rally at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre in East Jerusalem May 1. Several speakers noted the importance of the occasion as well as stressing the importance of the union's struggle for the Palestinian cause. Al-Ghad troupe sang nationalist songs and performed folk dances.

In Ramallah, the Union of Workers in Public Institutions held a small rally at its offices. One worker in the union said they were compelled to hold the celebration at their offices because the authorities had barred the West Bank unions from holding celebrations in public places. He said that nearly 200 workers took part in the celebration, where the speeches concentrated on "the importance of May 1 and its meaning to the workers' struggle." He added that the two speakers called for unity within the PLO on the basis of the 16th Palestine National Council resolutions and the Aden-Algiers agreememnt.

The Workers Unity Bloc held another celebration at al-Hambra Cinema in Jerusalem. The celebration included speeches delivered on behalf of the elected mayors of Nablus and Anabta, Bassam Shaka'a and Wahid al-Hamdallah, both of whom were prevented from coming to Jerusalem to take part in the celebration. The celebration also involved singing and *dabkeh* dancing by local troupes.

One day earlier on April 30, the first conference of the Trade Union Action Front, also part of Ghanem's federation in the occupied territories, opened at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre in Jerusalem. The conference was attended by delegates representing the TUAF throughout the West Bank and Gaza, in addition to a large number of unionists from other union blocs, and representatives of national institutions. A speech on behalf of the TUAF focused on the need to restore unity to the unionist movement in the occupied territories. (The two federations have existed since a split in the trade union movement in 1981.) They also presented a report on the activities of the various branches of the TUAF in the West Bank and Gaza. The Popular Folklore Troupe also sang nationalist songs and danced to the music.

Inside the "green line," leaders of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) held celebrations in Nazareth, Tel Aviv, and Kufr Yasif. The rallies, which were attended by thousands of workers and chaired by Israeli Communist Party leaders such as Tawfiq Toubi, Tawfiq Zayyad, and Meir Wilner, turned into demonstrations and protests against the Israeli government's economic policies, as *Al Ittihad* daily reported.

Pharmacists Union Holds National Day Conference

The Pharmacists' Union in the West Bank and the Arab Medical Society in the Gaza Strip held a joint pharmaceutical conference April 26 in Jerusalem. Conferees declared the date as Palestinian Pharmacists' Day, to be observed annually.

Organisers chose an April date as a reminder of the April 1966 Arab Pharmacists' Conference, held in Jerusalem with the participation of delegates from all over the Arab world, which resulted in the establishment of the Arab Pharmacists' Union. The 1985 Palestinian meeting was convened under the slogan "Yes to National Unity" in the PLO.

The one-day pharmaceutical conference included two sessions. The morning programme was taken up with speeches from various Palestinian figures asserting the importance of the occasion and the delicacy of the current political situation in which the Palestinian people are involved. A medallion with the shield of the union was conferred on distinguished pharmacists, followed by a programme of folk-singing and dancing. In the after-

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Murphy Makes 2ND Stab at Non-PLO Delegation

US Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs Richard Murphy returned to Jerusalem a second time in 10 days April 26 to meet with Palestinians from the occupied territories in an attempt to convince them to join a proposed non-PLO delegation for future talks with Israel. The Palestinians reportedly rejected Murphy's offer.

Murphy met with 10 local Palestinians at a dinner party at the home of the US Consul General to Jerusalem, Watt Claverius IV. According to the dinner guests, Murphy tried to convince them to participate in a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Murphy told the Palestinians, "During my last trip here [April 16] you gave me a memorandum saying that only the PLO is to speak for the Palestinians. But my government rejects any direct negotiations with the PLO until the PLO recognises UN Resolution 242. What do you suggest?"

Lawyer Ziad Abu Ziad, one of the invitees, told *Al Fajr* that a number of the Palestinians suggested an amendment of 242. They said that the US should publicly declare its unambiguous support for Palestinian rights, including the right to self-determination. According to Abu Ziad, a number of Palestinians said that if such an announcement were made by the US government, they would personally go the PLO and convince it to accept the unilaterally-amended version of UN Resolution 242, which in its original form recognises only the human and not national rights of Palestinians.

Regarding his meetings with various Arab world leaders, Murphy told the Palestinians that Syrian officials told him that the time was not right for any political settlement. The Syrians told Murphy that an Arab consensus is necessary for any political effort to succeed.

According to Murphy, the leaders of Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia agreed that "time is running against peace," and encouraged him to work for a just political solution to the Palestinian problem. Murphy reportedly said Saudi leaders insisted that the continuation of the *status quo* would mean that the US would lose its friends in the area. "Although I have heard this before, I felt the Saudis were more serious this time," Murphy said.

Jad Michael, a pharmacist and a member of the dismissed Ramallah local council, told *Al Fajr* that the Palestinians present at the dinner all stressed to Murphy the need to involve the PLO in order to reach a peaceful solution. Michael said the Palestinians informed Murphy that the present PLO political position is the maximum compromise possible and that the US government must stop demanding more and more concessions from the PLO and the Palestinian people. They also told Murphy that no Palestinian would participate in any delegation or political initiative except through the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. They asked Murphy to convey this to the US government. Also present at the dinner meeting were Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, deposed acting Hebron Mayor Mustafa Natshe, deposed Gaza Mayor Rashad Shawwa, former head of the Gaza Lawyers' Association Fayez Abu Rahmeh, Hebron businessman Khaled Assaileh, Nablus businessman Said Kana'an, Nablus advocte Wahid Masri, *Al Quds* editor Mahmoud Abu Zuluf, and Jerusalem engineer Othman Hallaq.

After the meeting with Palestinians and earlier meetings with Israeli officials, Murphy travelled to the Jordanian port of Aqaba April 27 where he met again with King Hussein. Later the US Middle East envoy visited Cairo for his last meeting in the area with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak. Mubarak later told journalists that Murphy's trip did not accomplish its goals.

PLO leader Arafat and his aides, Farouq Kaddoumi, Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), and Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad) were quoted in separate interviews as saying that the PLO and the Fatah Central Council, which met in Baghdad April 25, rejected Murphy's proposals. The Palestinian leaders said that any solution or delegation in which the PLO is not represented on equal footing will be totally rejected. Fatah Central Council member Hani al-Hassan raised a political storm when he told Radio Monte Carlo April 26 that the PLO accepted Murphy's proposal that a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation negotiate with the US, on condition that the PLO chooses the Palestinian delegates.

Al-Hassan's statement was sharply attacked by fellow Fatah members as well as by the general secretaries of major PLO factions: Nayef Hawatmeh (DFLP), and George Habash (PFLP). Al-Hassan later retracted his statement, claiming that he had been misunderstood and that the PLO had in fact rejected Murphy's proposals.

EAST OF SIDON

Ceasefire to Block Mass Exodus

Militias from the Druze Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) and the Shi'ite Amal movement captured several villages this week in the Kharoub region in southern Lebanon, pushing out right-wing militias from the Phalangist Party and the Lebanese Forces. At the same time Palestinian and leftist Lebanese forces also took over control of several villages east of Sidon.

Reports from southern Lebanon said the Druze and Shi'ite advance stopped just ouside Jezzine, a Phalangist stronghold east of Sidon, after Druze leader Walid Jumblatt and Amal head Nabih Berri ordered a ceasefire to prevent a mass exodus from the Christian villages to a zone farther south under Israeli control. The Israeli occupation army wants to form a security zone just north of its borders made up of Christians as a buffer against possible future guerrilla infiltration into Israel.

The Druze and Shi'ite march began April 24 following weeks of intense fighting in and around Sidon between militias of the Lebanese Forces on one hand, and Palestinians and the Lebanese Murabitoun on the other. Sidon, particularly the Palestinian refugee camps of Ain al-Hilweh and Mia Mia, were shelled by the Lebanese Forces for one month before the Palestinians and their allies broke the siege and advanged east to capture Palangist-dominated villages and reach the outskirts of Jezzine.

At the request of Lebanese nationalists in Beirut, the Palestinian and Murabitoun attacks on Jezzine were halted, leaving the city surrounded by leftist forces from all fronts. A contingent of Lebanese Forces and members of the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army are still in Jezzine. Berri and Jumblatt said they will not order a takeover of the city if the right-wing militias leave it. The two Lebanese resistance leaders also offered a plan guaranteeing safe passage for Lebanese who had escaped the fighting area for refuge either in Jezzine or north of Sidon to return to their captured villages. According to the plan, Shi'ite and Druze miltias would protect the villagers against attack by any of the other leftist forces.

The fighting in south Lebanon caused a political furor in the national unity cabinet. Information Minister Joseph Scaf resigned his post April 29 in protest against the attack on the Christian villages.

Meanwhile, Lebanese President Amin Gemayel met in Beirut with caretaker Prime Minister Rashid Karameh in an attempt to find a peaceful settlement to the fighting and agreed to meet with Jumblatt and Berri. Lebanese officials also travelled to Syria this week hoping for Syrian intervention in the fighting. Press reports said Syria promised the officials to halt any further attacks on the Christian villages.

Heavy fighting was also reported in Beirut throughout the week. Fighting in the capital occurred on the line separating East from West Beirut between leftist and rightist warring factions. The fighting forced the temporary closure of the passages linking both sectors of the city.

Israeli Army Retreats to Buffer Zone

Israeli troops retreated from a 400-square-kilometre area in south Lebanon, including the Tyre region, April 29. The Israeli army then took up positions north of the Israeli borders in a 15-kilometre-wide area stretching across the border with Lebanon. The region under Israeli control is scheduled to become a "security zone" controlled by the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army (SLA).

Militias of the Shi'ite Amal movement immediately entered Tyre following the Israeli pullout and arrested 30 persons believed to have collaborated with Israeli forces during their occupation. "Every person who collaborated with Israel must be prosecuted," Abu Hassan, a local Amal leader, told foreign correspondents. "They all will be punished. Nobody can run away," he said.

Carloads of Amal militiamen were the first to enter Tyre, and were hailed as heroes when the city broke out in an ecstatic expression of celebration as 34 months of Israeli occupation ended. The Lebanese army sent a column of armoured vehicles into Tyre, but it was little more than a symbolic gesture of the government's authority. The celebrations erupted as thousands of people surged into the streets, singing and dancing as the last Israeli truck rumbled south. The parties went on for six hours.

Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin promised to intervene in the "security zone" whenever a threat was posed against Israeli towns in the north. He said, however, that his forces will not interfere outside the zone, especially in the case of inter-Lebanese fighting. "In case of an attack on the security zone, a settlement, or a South Lebanon Army position, we will help them with all our might to evict the attackers," he said.

Israel is expected to conclude its withdrawal from all areas held in south Lebanon by June.

Solidarity Committee Supports Palestinians

The Palestine Solidarity Committee in Holland sponsored a seminar in Amsterdam April 25 and 27 about Palestinian rights and the situation in the occupied territories.

Participating in the conference were Israeli advocate Felicia Langer, Charles Shammas on behalf of the Ramallah-based Law in the Service of Man, and a number of representatives of non-governmental organisations in Europe, international law professors, and the PLO representative to the Socialist International, Elan Halevi. Palestinian artist Suleiman Mansour was also scheduled to speak at the conference but was barred by the Israeli authorities from leaving the West Bank.

One of the major points of discussion was the Israeli-proposed road system in the West Bank which threatens thousands of dunums of Palestinian land and businesses in Nablus, Anabta, Tulkarm, Qalqilya, and other areas, in addition to the displacement of residents and devastating economic results.

A member of the Amsterdam Open University and of the Holland National Committee for International Law spoke at the conference and supported the idea of applying a legal suit at the International Court in the Hague.

At the April 27 session special emphasis was given to the situation of Dheisheh refugee camp. Members of the Palestine solidarity group from Holland who visited the area last month gave a detailed report documented with photos of the camp and the surrounding cement walls.

The documentary film *Gaza Ghetto*, produced by Swedish filmmaker Pea Holmquist and banned by Israeli censors, was also shown as part of the conference.

1984 Directive on Town Arrests Ignored by Military

A number of Palestinian residents of the occupied territories who have been served with town arrest orders have complained that new Israeli directives aimed at easing town arrest restrictions have not been implemented.

A number of human rights organisations in the West Bank recently learned from Amnesty International in London that the Israeli attorney general issued a directive last September 1, 1984 which calls for specifying the exact reasons why town arrest orders are served and for lifting harsh conditions. Over 50 Palestinians are currently under town arrest — a military order which forbids them to leave the confines of their town or village except to report in to police and often restricts them to their homes from dusk to dawn. In the last five years 148 people have been served such orders and at least six Palestinians have spent four years or more under this travel restriction.

The new Israeli directive stipulates that "every possible means of reducing the damage likely to be caused by the [restriction] shall be considered." The new directive also specifies that "every possible means of reducing the damage caused by the location of the police station and the terms of reporting will be considered."

Israeli correspondents with Amnesty also noted that as of September 1, 1984 Israel was supposed to clarify reasons for specific town arrests. According to AI, the Israelis assured them that they will give more specific information than the customary "for security reasons" when issuing town arrest orders.

George Hazboun, a Bethlehem unionist, told *Al Fajr* that since September his town arrest has become even more restrictive. "I have not been able to get permission to visit my doctor in Jerusalem since last September 16, desite the fact that I provided proper medical reports showing that I have high blood pressure and kidney problems." Hazboun, who has been a unionist and a member of the Executive Committee of the West Bank Federation of Unions since 1964, said he has been barred from attending the executive meetings in Nablus. Hazboun said he sent letters to Amnesty explaining his situation to them. The order he received September 10 extending his town arrest was exactly the same as his previous arrest orders, stating only that the order was served for "security reasons" with no other explanation, he said.

Azmi Shuaibi, a dentist and member of the dissolved al-Bireh local council, said that when his town arrest was renewed on February 12, 1985 it was exactly the same text as before — without any explanation. "The military governor who handed it to me even said that there was no need to read it since it was the same as always."

Shuaibi suffers from an undetermined lung disease and he must receive special injections at Hadassah hospital. He said that 20 days earlier the police called him in and told him to register with them every time he goes for medical treatment. Shuaibi told *Al Fajr* that he cannot comply with this order since he often has to go for emergency treatment. He is awaiting a medical recommendation from his Hadassah doctor so he can apply to tavel to the US for treatment.

Law in the Service of Man (LSM), a local human rights organisation, has sent letters to all Palestinians under town arrest to inform them of the Israeli directive and encourage them to appeal if their town arrest does not conform, or if the limitations on their movement damage their employment or their health. LSM, the West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists, has also recommended that copies of the appeals be sent to LSM and to Amnesty in order to follow up on the Israeli responses.

In its letter to town arrestees, LSM emphasised that it will not halt its protest against the existence of town arrest orders in general, no matter what directives are issued.

El-Hakawati Targeted In Threat Letter

A member of the East Jerusalem El-Hakawati Theatre troupe received an anonymous threat letter April 24 against members of the Palestinian theatre company.

Jackie Lubeck, veteran actress and costume designer with the troupe, received the Jerusalem-posted letter signed "an Israeli."

The letter warns, "Your end will be bad. You must be stoned." The letter continues by warning all members of the Palestinian theatre group, "Your place is in neighbouring Arab countries and you should be expelled or liquidated." Referring to political solutions, the letter read: "The state of Israel is for Jews only. There will never be a place for a Palestinian state."

On the theatre group's activities, the sender said, "The theatre will not help you achieve anything." He also said that he blesses the hands of Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the racist right-wing Kach group.

The letter concluded with another physical threat: "You should be exterminated to the last one of you. You are a cancer which needs to be eradicated."

The threat letter was turned over to the Jerusalem police by members of El-Hakawati. Some members of the troupe left for Europe and others will soon follow to participate in a number of international theatre festivals in Spain, France, and Germany. Other performances are planned for Holland and Norway. They will begin scheduled performances in Jerusalem in June.

The *mukhtar* of the Jerusalem suburb of Shu'fat received a threat letter April 28 from the Kach Movement. The letter, posted from West Jerusalem, called on Arabs to leave the area. The threat letter said that the April 24 murder of a Palestinian taxi driver from Shu'fat was "in revenge for attacks on Jews."

Travel Ban on Jerusalem, Ramallah Residents

Residents of Jerusalem, Shu'fat, Beit Hanina, Kalandia, and Ramallah were banned for nine days from leaving the West Bank by way of the Jordan River crossings. The restriction, which was made known only when travellers arrived at the bridge crossing, was apparently a collective punishment for the killing of an Israeli taxi driver April 21, despite the fact that suspects were arrested a day after the killing and reportedly had confessed to the crime.

A spokesperson for the Israeli military coordinator of activities in the West Bank told *Al Fajr* that the travel ban was imposed for "security reasons." The spokesperson refused to give any specific reason for the ban or why it was partially lifted on April 30. Residents of Shu'fat and Kalandia suburbs are still restricted from travel.

Taxi companies which run daily routes to the Allenby bridge reported that passengers from Jerusalem and Ramallah were turned back consistently during the nine days. Israeli authorities are known to carry out collective restrictions on towns or districts whenever any anti-Israeli violence occurs.

8000 Teachers to Strike for Better Pay, Conditions

The General Committee of Government School Teachers in the West Bank (GCGST) called on its 8000 members to refrain from teaching for two class periods May 7 in protest against deteriorating salaries and work conditions.

In a letter dated April 25 delivered to the Israeli military officer in charge of West Bank education, the committee said that because of the deterioration of the purchasing power of their monthly salaries as well as worsening work conditions and the military officer's refusal to hear their complaints, it was "decided to call the teachers for a protest strike for two class periods... on Tuesday, May 7, 1985."

A member of the General Committee told *Al Fajr* the May 7 protest will be an initial step to promote a response from the military government to a series of demands the teachers have presented over the past several years. He said the teachers will be forced to escalate the protest actions unless they receive a positive reply from the education officer. Teachers who used to receive a salary the equivalent of JD120 several years ago today receive only JD80.

The teachers' demands, as presented once again on April 27 by the General Committee to the education officer and signed by 3000 teachers, include a 100 percent increase in salary; insuring the teachers against accidents and for health matters; reducing the income tax to a maximum of two percent; giving women teachers two-month maternity leave rather than the current 40-day leave; raising the annual salary increase for teachers to 50 percent of the basic salary; paying allowances for non-working spouse, children, and transportation; and allowing unlimited promotions.

According to the same committee member, the Israeli military has so far ignored all their demands and never even bothered to answer any of their letters.

West Bank government school teachers went on extended strike from December 14, 1980 to March 15, 1981 and forced the military government to meet some of the demands but teachers complained results fell short of demands. Ramallah government school teachers went on strike last year demanding better conditions.

3-Day Curfew Follows Stabbing of Settler in Gaza

A round-the-clock curfew was slapped on the city of Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip for three days April 24 after an Israeli settler was stabbed in the market. Scores of Khan Younis residents who were shopping at the time were picked up for questioning.

The Israeli media reported April 25 that two assailants attacked an Israeli, Aharon Hazut, 30, with a knife while he was shopping in the city's vegetable market. The attackers reportedly escaped, leaving behind the injured man. Israeli army units quickly arrived on the scene when a nearby soldier shot in the air to call the security forces. Soon after the shooting, the Israeli commander of the southern district and a number of high military officials arrived to supervise the round-up and questioning of Palestinians.

The first Pharmacists Day conference, held at Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre May 26, will be an annual event from now on./AO photo

Pharmacists

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noon a scientific sesson was held with papers and lectures presented by local pharmacists, as well as a forum on pharmaceutical industries.

Twelve speakers addressed the morning session, which opened with a verse from the Quran and one minute of silence for Palestinian martyrs. Speakers from both the West Bank and *Gaza Strip congratulated pharmacists on their day* and expressed the hope that the event would be held annually. All mentioned the current crisis in the PLO and affirmed the importance of national unity among Palestinians as an undefeatable weapon.

Bassam Shaka'a, the elected mayor of Nablus, who has been confined by years of town and house arrest orders, made a rare appearance at the conference to warn area Palestinians of falling into the trap of American plans to liquidate the Palestinian cause. Mustafa Natshe, the elected deputy mayor of Hebron, noted that the US is actively working against the aspirations of the Palestinian people. Haidar Abd al-Shafi, head of the Red Crescent in Gaza, called for a distancing from factionalism since "we all belong to one faction – Palestine."

Jerusalemite Zahira Kamal, of the Women's Work Committee, called for the cancellation of the Amman agreement between Arafat and Hussein and the resumption of national dialogue towards Palestinian national unity. Faisal Husseini, director of the Arab Studies Society in Jerusalem, outlined the principles which the Palestinian people adhere to at this stage in their struggle.

Lawyer Bashir Khairi from Bethlehem analysed how Arab reactionary regimes are attacking the Palestinian people and called for "correcting the wrong" in order to be able to build socialism in Palestine.

The general secretary of the Pharmacists' Union, Isma'il Tazziz, spoke on behalf of the Pharmacists' Union in the West Bank. Tazziz concentrated on giving opportunity to all nationalists to play their role and on moving away from divisionist attitudes. He also assured the audience that the occasion of Pharmacists' Day would be continued every year. Ibrahim Yazuri spoke as representative of Gaza pharmacists, Ibrahim Dakkak for the professional trade unions, and pharmacist Mohammed Milhem for the conference's preparatory committee.

Hashem Mahamid, mayor of the newly-municipalised Um al-Fahm, extended solidarity from "all Palestinians living in Israel to their fellow Palestinians' and congratulated pharmacists on their behalf. Zakaria Agha spoke on behalf of the Arab Medical Society in Gaza.

All speakers affirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and leader of their struggle to achieve their rights of return, self-determination, and an independent state on Palestinian soil.

After the speeches, pharmacist Ibrahim Tawil, elected mayor of al-Bireh, distributed the medals and shields. Nineteen pharmacists, three of whom have been working as pharmacists for the last 50 years in Palestine, were honoured.

Folklore singer Rajeh Salfiti and the Palestinian Folkloric Art Troupe won the admiration of the audience, especially with their demonstrative commitment to national unity in the form of song and dance.

Pharmacists and invitees moved to the Professional Trade Unions building in Beit Hanina to carry on with the scientific session in the afternoon.

Pharmacists Adib Qaisi, Simon Kuttab, Bassem Hanania, and Mohammed Shabir lectured the audience on various aspects of the science of pharmacy and the latest international developments in this field. The lectures were followed by a forum on the Arab national pharmaceutical industry in the West Bank and especially on joining the efforts of all pharmacists to achieve a competant and viable industry.

Israel Lifts Restrictions on Foreign Currency Import Via Bridges

Beginning May 1, residents of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip can bring unspecified amounts of foreign currency into the country, according to a communique from the Israeli military coordinator in the ministry of defence for the West Bank and Gaza.

The statement issued April 29 said that any Palestinian resident can bring in foreign currency through the Jordan River bridges "on the condition that it is private money and not from 'hostile' sources." Any person carrying over US$5000 will have to declare it, making it clear that the money is strictly for personal use. Institutions, universities, and municipalities, however, must continue to operate under existing restrictions which limit outside funding, according to the statement. These organisations have to file applications with the military authorities stating the source and the purpose of the funds, and have them approved before they can receive the money.

A Jerusalem money changer who preferred not to be identified told *Al Fajr* the new measure seemingly contradicts a recent Israeli law banning the transaction or retention of foreign currency without an official permit. He said individuals who bring in large amounts of dollars, for example, may still be risking confiscation of that money.

Prior to May 1, West Bank and Gaza residents were forbidden to bring more than US$5000 or JD2000. With the new regulation the ceiling is left unlimited. Local observers expressed the belief that the change is intended to bring more hard currency into the ailing Israeli economy and the depleted foreign currency reserves. Israeli law requires that all foreign currency brought into the country, including the occupied territories, must be changed into Israeli currency or deposited in banks within 48 hours from entry. The banks' rate of exchange is 25 percent less than the black market.

Mustafa Natshe, acting mayor of Hebron until his dismissal in July 1983, told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli move is intended for mere public relations purposes: "The Israelis have lifted the restrictions at a time when no one has any money to bring from outside." He believes that the move was intended to "please the Americans" and to support the Israeli allegation that they are "improving the quality of life in the occupied territories."

Arab Hunters Claim Sharon Beat Them up

MAPAM Knesset members made a formal request that the Israeli legal advisor investigate Minister of Industry and Trade Ariel Sharon for allegations that he assaulted an Arab near his Negev farm last October.

MK Mohammed Watad (MAPAM) told *Al Fajr* that charges could be made against Sharon for his actions. MAPAM also decided to help the victims by providing legal fees for an attorney.

The Israeli MAPAM-affiliated daily *Al Hamishmar* printed the story. Last year a group of six Arabs from the Triangle area went out on a seasonal rabbit hunt in the south. After obtaining proper hunting licences, the six from the Triangle village of Ara arrived at an area near Sharon's farm, close to Kibbutz Gafim. While they were in the nearby *wadi* the six hunters were harassed by one of the security guards protecting Sharon's farm, who asked them to leave the area. After they moved some three kilometres away from the original spot, a jeep appeared and began to follow them.

According to 45-year-old Faisal Younis, Sharon himself was at the wheel of the jeep. He stopped in front of the hunters' car and ordered Younis out. Sharon proceeded to beat Younis – first on his face, breaking his glasses, and then on his stomach. Younis' hand began to bleed. He said that when he tried to defend himself, Sharon only beat him harder, saying, "I will finish you off."

Sharon confiscated the hunters' equipment and warned that he would file a complaint against them at the local police station. The hunters themselves went to the police to press charges against Sharon. However, the officer on duty at the Sderot Shadrout police station advised them not to take any legal action against the industry minister. Sharon later returned the confiscated hunting equipment to the police himself.

MK Mohammed Watad, who has taken great care to follow up the case, said that his party's concern "stems from the attitude in Israel which belittles the humanity of Arabs." Watad said that "many Israelis think that attacking an Arab is easy and that Arab blood is cheap." Watad added that if the government legal advisor did find enough reason to file suit against Sharon, there would be no need to lift Sharon's diplomatic immunity. "Immunity is no protection in cases of criminal wrongdoing," Watad explained.

A number of other members of Knesset, including Ran Cohen from the Citizens Rights Movement (CRM), have taken special interest in the Arab hunters' case.

Ariel Sharon has been known during his long military career to have been brutal in his dealings with Arabs. Sharon is said to have been responsible for a massacre in the Ramallah area village of Qibya in 1956, the crackdown on Gaza Palestinians in 1970, engineering the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and indirectly promoting the Sabra and Shatila massacres, for which the Israeli Kahan Commission reprimanded him and required that he resign his cabinet post in 1983.

Unrest Marks 'Independence Day'

Stone-throwing incidents in cities, villages, and camps throughout the West Bank and Gaza marked Israeli "Independence Day" April 25. Overall, an atmosphere of tension prevailed.

In al-Am'ari camp, near Ramallah, Israeli soldiers were stoned. They responded with tear gas bombs. In Jalazon refugee camp, north of Ramallah, tyres were set on fire and the roads were blocked with rocks. Israeli military cars were stoned. The Israelis dispersed the demonstrators with tear gas bombs, injuring many. A Red Cross ambulance was prevented from entering the camp.

In Kalandia camp, an Israeli bus and military patrol were stoned.

Schools were closed in Ramallah and commercial activity was paralysed.

In Balata refugee camp outside Nablus, youths barricaded themselves behind burning tyres and hurled stones at Israeli army vehicles.

In Bethlehem, women students of the Bethlehem Secondary School staged a sit-in strike in the schoolyard and chanted pro-PLO songs. The students also hoisted a Palestinian flag. Large forces of the Israeli army rushed to the area and surrounded the school for two hours.

In the Gaza Strip, youths demonstrated in Bureij and Nuseirat refugee camps, brandishing portraits of Yasir Arafat and martyr Fathi al-Ghirbawi. Israeli troops fired several volleys of tear gas to disperse the demonstrators, and beat and detained a number of them.

A curfew was also imposed on the Kalandia refugee camp April 30 after Israeli vehicles were stoned as they passed this northern Jerusalem camp. Balata camp near Nablus was similarly sealed April 30 after youths threw stones at an Israeli military jeep. In the Qalqilya area a curfew was slapped on the village of Hableh after an Israeli bus driver was hurt when two Molotov cocktails thrown at an Israeli Dan bus exploded. A large number of Israeli army troops surrounded the area and carried out a search.

The Dawn
AL FAJR

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Workers' Unity

On May 1 workers of the world, including Palestinian workers, celebrate a day of international solidarity and unity in face of all forms of suppression and exploitation practised against them. The day was chosen to commemorate the massacre committed in 1878 by Chicago police against protesting American workers demanding their rights.

Since the industrial revolution in Europe, the formation of a class that earned their living by the hiring of their physical force started taking a mass dimension. Regardless of where the bulk of people came from whom capitalist owners and industrialists needed to generate their profit – be it disenfranchised farmers or slaves "freed" and able to reach adjacent cities – all were ready if not willing to sell their physical force for the sake of sheer survival and their families' source of living.

Over the years the aggregation of these workers has evolved into a distinguishable class dictated by similar living conditions and forms of exploitation. Across cultures and nationalities the same understanding and desire to improve a worker's lot has led to the sharply felt need to organise – a need which exploitative employers try to defeat on every occasion.

Experience of their struggle taught workers that as individuals they were weak and unable to confront profit-mongering owners. Only when united could they stand up in force and, on occasions, achieve a small goal on the road of lifting exploitation. And as the interlocking of owners extended beyond the borders of one country, a similar unity was necessitated among workers.

In the occupied territories the natural unity of Palestinian workers has been attacked from without and within, fraught with every kind of peril from the occupation. Their unity guarantees the unity of the people.

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Why the West Bank Is Not South Lebanon

by Daoud Kuttab

In recent months of mounting resistance operations against the Israeli occupation of south Lebanon, a number of people have been arguing the possible success of similar military resistance in the areas occupied by Israel.

Supporters of such resistance believe it could lead to a hasty Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 as it has in south Lebanon. Although such a possibility has been mentioned, the truth of the matter is that the situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is far different from the situation in occupied south Lebanon.

It is true that both areas were occupied by an alien military force against the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants. It is equally true that the people of both areas have a heart-burning desire to rid themelves of this foreign occupier. Nevertheless, the differences between the two are so great that they should prompt proponents of similar military resistance in the West Bank and Gaza to recalculate their equations.

We must first acknowledge that the majority of the resistance activities currently taking place in south Lebanon are carried out by the Lebanese. Although Palestinians have some role in the resistance, most experts, including Israeli military officials, concede that the majority of operations are perpetrated by the Lebanese, particularly residents of the south.

Militarily, the Lebanese have a huge advantage over West Bank Palestinians in terms of the availability of weapons. Despite Israeli attempts to comb the south, large caches of weapons were not discovered by the Israeli army. The wide availability of weapons before the invasion — whether through Palestinian or Lebanese efforts — sharply contrasts with the situation in the West Bank, which had virtually no available weapons before 1967. The Jordanian government and to a lesser extent the Egyptian government maintained an effective ban on weaponry. Unlike the Lebanese, Palestinian civilians rarely possessed even personal firearms before 1967. Palestinian *fedai'yin* operations between 1965 (the creation of al-Asifa — the military wing of Fatah) and 1967 were as much against the will of the Jordanians as they are today. The large quantities of weapons owned by the Jordanian army which were left behind were quickly discovered after the occupation.

Not only were weapons scarce at the onset of the occupation in 1967, but the important weapon supply lines were completely cut after the bloody clashes in Jordan in 1970 and the Jordanian ouster of the PLO to Syria and Lebanon. Unlike south Lebanon, which has continued to receive weapons and support from the unoccupied parts of Lebanon and through Syrian lines, the West Bank and Gaza fighters had to smuggle weapons first past the Arab governments and then past the Israelis. Scores of Palestinians were shot or captured by the Jordanian army on the East Bank of the Jordan River. The Syrian and Egyptian governments also blocked Palestinian fighters from infiltrating across their front lines. Attempts to smuggle weapons through to fighters within the "green line" were similarly thwarted.

Fighters and political activists working in the territories occupied in 1967 faced many more disadvantages than their brethren in Lebanon. Organisationally, the West Bank was [illegible] divided. Residents had little military organisational or political mobilisation skill. Although Palestinians in the Gaza Strip had an edge on those in the West Bank, the organisational structure in these areas was also far inferior to that in south Lebanon, where activities and fighters have the experience of 10 years of an organised PLO presence on top of the lessons from years of civil war in which nearly every resident has had military experience. Training and political education were normal activities in workplaces.

Even jobs for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza were not on a steady basis. The availability of work before '67 was not always guaranteed and when available wages were low. After the Israeli occupation the availability of more steady and higher income work increased along with the standard of living of many Palestinians. Although the increase in the standard of living was artificial and temporary, the major complaint concerning the presence of an occupation force was not an economic one.

This situation contrasts sharply with the economic outlook of south Lebanon over the past two years. Due to the disruption of trade with the markets in central and northern Lebanon, the economy of the south — and for that matter all of Lebanon — was adversely affected by occupation. The clearest example of this deterioration was seen recently with the weakening power of the Lebanese pound, which dipped to all-time lows in comparison to the US dollar. The Lebanese pound had held steady during all the years of civil war but reached a value of 1/15 of a dollar in Febraury '85.

This difference between the areas occupied in 1967, which witnessed a temporary economic boom, and areas occupied in 1982, which suffered an economic crisis, translated into a common all-out revolt in one area in comparison to a small and marginal military resistance in the other.

Another critical consideration in a comparison between the two occupied areas is the Israeli religious and national perspective of the two areas. Except for a few marginal fanatics the majority of Israelis have no particular religious or national goals in Lebanon. Although certain parts of Lebanon had belonged to the historic Jewish kingdoms, their religious importance is considerably minimal when compared to the West Bank (Judea and Samaria, in Israeli terminology). There is almost no historic or religious site in south Lebanon to which Jews have any ties. No Hebrew prophets are known to be buried in south Lebanon and few important battles took place there. Contrast this to "Greater Israel" (including the West Bank and Gaza), which many Israelis of all political colours refer to proudly. The West Bank and Gaza Strip is not even admitted to be occupied land but administered areas. In fact, most Israelis consider these areas an integral part of Israel.

The religious and political importance of certain areas in the West Bank and Gaza has been buttressed by a strategic significance with the establishment of Jewish settlements there. The presence of settlements throughout the areas occupied in 1967 gives moral and strategic strength to Israeli soldiers and officers who operate in these areas. Whereas a soldier in south Lebanon feels a complete stranger in hostile territory, in the West Bank and Gaza he has access to settlements where he can find shelter, rest, and reinforcement.

Israeli soldiers, however, are not only on dangerous turf in south Lebanon; they also realise that their presence there is questionable.

continued on page 15

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Below are three views from the Hebrew press and one from the translator about Israel's Lebanese embroglio on the eve of the army's withdrawal.

Withdrawal

Symptoms

According to an article in Hadashot *(April 5, 1985), Lili Sharon threw a surprise party for her husband on his fifty-fifth birthday. When all the guests had arrived, Lili presented "Arik" with a chocolate-coated birthday cake — baked in the shape of the Greater Land of Israel. But "Arik" refused to cut the cake. "One does not cut up the Land of Israel," he blubbered, "even in jest."*

Lili's faux pas *could have been easily avoided had she presented her husband with a birthday cake baked in the shape of Lebanon. Sharon would have surely gotten a bang out of it, and could have sliced up the cake without any compunctions. Of course, the last slice — the "security zone" — could have been served to Sharon's alter ego, Yitzhak "Scorched Earth" Rabin.*

(Translator)

South Lebanon

The objective of the war launched by Sharon, Begin, and Eitan was to establish a "new order" in Lebanon, by putting Gemayel and Samir Ja'ja's gang in power. The "new order" in Lebanon was supposed to be the first step in establishing a new order in the entire Middle East... Although Rabin has scrapped their scenario, he has yet to come up with a comprehensive strategy in place of Sharon's, which led the country into a catastrophic war and drained the Israeli economy...

Yesterday, [April 13, 1985] Rabin said once again that Israel would not agree to the redeployment of UNIFIL soldiers on the international border. Rabin wants to retain the Isreali army's "freedom of movement" in Lebanon, so as to allow the army to take punitive action, conduct reconnaissance operations, or provide logistic support to the various Lebanese groups that cannot survive without the help of the Israeli army. In effect, this means the establishment of an infrastructure that will make for a kind of perpetual involvement in Lebanese affairs. The security of the Galilee cannot be guaranteed by continuing to interfere in the affairs of south Lebanon. The only solution to the problem is a set of international accords. (Translation: by Zvi Timor, Al Hamishmar, April 10, 1985)

• • •

We can pull out of south Lebanon or remain there; but it is impossible to do both at the same time. The national unity government thinks otherwise. It wants to have its cake and eat it too! This is implicit in the "security zone" solution... The first question that must be asked is: What will be the political status of the "security zone"? The Lebanese government will never agree to such an arrangement, which cannot but be seen as a continuing infringement on Lebanese sovereignty... The second question is one of logistics: Can the South Lebanon Army (SLA) defend the "security zone" on its own? After the Israeli withdrawal, it seems quite likely that the SLA will become the number one target of the [Shi'ites, Palestinians, and Syrians]. The hatred of the Shi'ites and the Palestinians will be exploited by the Syrians and directed against the SLA. Can the SLA soldiers withstand such an onslaught?... Without the massive logistical support of the Israeli army, the SLA will probably fall apart in a matter of weeks... In order to rout its enemies, the SLA will have to employ violent and murderous tactics — common practice in Lebanon — ...but how willing will Israel be to take responsibility for a repeat of the Sabra and Shatila massacre?... Why must we recruit Lebanese mercenaries to do our bidding ? Are we prepared to take responsibility for the actions of SLA soldiers? Everyone is happy about getting out of the quagmire of Lebanon, but our joy has clouded our judgement about what we are getting ourselves embroiled in. (Translation: by Ya'acov Hassadi, Yediot Aharanot, April 11, 1985)

Ansar

Two weeks ago, 800 prisoners from the Ansar camp were released and the rest of the prisoners were transferred to Israeli prisons. Certain legal doubts were raised over the validity of the legality of the move. Had Israel not violated the Fourth Geneva Convention? Israeli jurists proved that Israel had not violated the convention by claiming the state was protecting the detainees transferred out of Lebanon.

Such a claim may surprise certain liberal-minded people, communists, Arabs, and homosexuals. Hence, we have decided to further elucidate the legal aspects of the case.

1. Had we released the detainees, they would have immediately become supporters of Israel out of gratitude for being released. Their countrymen would have slaughtered them — (it's a well known Arab custom). We acted solely on their behalf.

2. The Shi'ites have a natural tendency to commit suicide. In the same manner that potential suicides are confined in psychiatric hospitals, we have confined the prisoners (for their own good). It's a humane act, a way of protecting them from themselves.

3. Lebanon is a small and over crowded country. This is Israel's way of preventing a population explosion.

4. Who said we signed the *Fourth* Geneva Convention? We're only prepared to talk about the *Third* Geneva Convention... (Translation: by Yonatan Lahav and David Lappin, HaAretz Supplement, April 11, 1985) ■

Letter to Editor

Out of respect to the Lebanese people and admiration for their freedom-loving spirit, I have dedicated this prose poem to Sidon.

I hope you will be able to publish it in the English language weekly.

Sincerely,
Sami Kilani
Ya'abad

Saida Was Never Prey for the Hunter

by Sami Kilani *

This lightning emanating from Saida **
Welcome.
Oh, how strong it is.
This embracing love from Saida
Welcome.
Oh, how pure it is.
This melody streaming from Saida,
Welcome,
Oh, how rich it is.
This wind blowing from Saida,
Welcome.
Oh, how refreshing it is.
This fragrant scent wafting from Saida,
Welcome.
Oh, how delicious it is.

• • •

Saida took off the robe of darkness
Put on the robe of lilacs.
"Congratulations, oh Saida, *congratulations"*
Saida uprooted the thorny trees
And planted laurels
"Hurrah, a thousand Hurrahs"
Saida suffocated the marches of war
Sang the prettiest tunes
"May this sound be eternal"
Saida skinned the pig
But the best of fragrances lingered from her sleeves
"Thank you, Saida,*"*
We will never forget your generosity

• • •

Ma'rouf, ***
Come out of your coffin.
Open the door of your guesthouse
Throw your nets into the sea
Replace the oar of sadness
Row;
Sail;
Sing the high tune
Silence the caw of the crow
Open the door of your guesthouse and receive us.
We came to congratulate you, despite the manacles
to find hope in Saida's *eyes*
to obtain rich supplies for the trip

• • •

It is a lie:
Saida never bowed her forehead to tyranny
and never said: I will only save my own head
It is a lie:
Saida did not meet the invaders with flowers
and her eyes did not laugh behind bars.
It is a lie:
Saida never rested amidst the fire...
and never said: This burden is killing me.
It is a lie:
Saida was never prey for the hunter.

• • •

Saida gave a lesson
and never deprived anyone of the class
She stood before the blackboard and said:
The first lesson was from Beirut
and now the second lesson, clever ones.
She continued to talk, explain, give, give and give,
Until she said
We end our class now
with the Fatiha **** *for the martyrs*
and a spit of contempt on the face of cowards
The next lesson will come to you from Sur *****
Kids, don't miss the date.

* Composed originally in Arabic, then translated into English by S. Kilani.
** Sidon
*** Ma'rouf Sa'ad: a Lebanese nationalist from Sidon killed in a demonstration in 1975.
**** The Opening: a prose verse from the Quran commonly used for public occasions, gravesites, etc.
***** Tyre

West Bank writer Sami Kilani composed this prose poem in honour of Saida's liberation from the Israeli occupation. Saida was occupied by Israeli forces on June 6, 1982 and liberated February 16, 1985.

Kilani is a poet and short story writer and a teacher of physics. He taught at Najah University in Nablus from 1975 until December 1977 when he was arrested, convicted, and sentenced to three years in Israeli jails. His work was again interrupted in January 1983 when he was given his first six-month town arrest order to remain in his home town of Ya'abad in the northern West Bank. He is currently serving his fifth consecutive town arrest order. ■

Of Israeli Bondage

By Michael Lowry *

"Do as you're told..."
"Don't ask questions..."
"Respect authority..."

Some people manage to reject this drumming; most do not. Every year their ranks are swelled by a new influx of recruits looking for someone in authority to give them marching orders.

Now, the state has a vested interest in keeping its citizenry docile, paranoid, and alienated. Its power is not based so much on acceptance of its legitimacy as on powerlessness to refuse it. Of all state institutions, the army is the one that demands the greatest degree of conformity from its members. Of all state institutions, the army's mechanisms for inducing conformity are both the most salient and the most mystified.

Ours Is Not to Question Why: Ours Is But to Shoot and Cry

That the Israeli army soldiers in Lebanon have become "demoralised" is common knowledge. Apathy is rife among the troops and about the only thing they believe in is Fate. Like a minor bureaucrat, the Angel of Death hovers over their heads with a list of names in his hand; either your name is on it, or it's not. It's that simple. In the meantime, shoot anything that moves.

Both the army and a host of political commentators blame Lebanon for the inertia that has seized the soldiers. It's a swamp, they say, a country that devours anyone who ventures there. The soldiers are inculcated with the idea of "purity of arms," but once they've been stationed in Lebanon, they adopt "Lebanese norms." They don't like what they're being ordered to do and as a result become apathetic. They see their buddies being killed and wounded every day and have no choice but to become insensitive.

The more radical commentators speak about the soldiers having been turned into "emotional cripples," and warn that the psychological wounds inflicted by their experience in Lebanon will take a long time to heal.

All agree that the Israeli army that is pulling out of Lebanon today is not the same army that invaded the country in June 1982. An accusing finger is usually pointed at Sharon, Begin, and Eitan. They are the culprits! They have ruined the Israeli army!

In the meantime the soldiers unburden themselves to sympathetic journalists: "If we're here already, we have no choice but to do what we have to do. Everyday another friend gets killed, but the guys up here don't talk about it. They keep everything locked up inside... And then, one day you find yourself entering a village and deep in your heart you feel an urge to destroy everything that crosses your path. Look, every 12-year-old-kid scares me shitless. I no longer trust anybody. I've lost my 'I' and become a machine... Something has happened to me up here — I've become a more violent person. All I want is to get home in one piece..." (Israeli soldier, quoted in *Yediot Aharanot*, March 29, 1985)

"Ours is not to question why..."

Extero-Conditioning

Unlike earlier generations of soldiers, today's recruits are not all that gung-ho about the army. Most of them see their military service as a three-year purgatory they must endure if they are ever to regain entry into civilian life. While the army pays lip service to the soldiers' patriotic motivation, it actually relies on quite a different mechanism to ensure conformity, and commitment is no longer necessary or even desirable.

The term "intero-conditioning" denotes a process whereby recruits internalise the project of a given social institution, like the army, as their own, accepting its structure and division of labour as necessary to achieve a common aim. In the past, this was the army's basic means of indoctrinating recruits. However, over the past decade-and-a-half, intero-conditioning has slowly given way to extero-conditioning which, in contrast, relies on the weakening of any feeling of personal commitment and the internalisation of a way of relating to other people and to oneself that is perhaps best described as one of statistical anonymity. Socializees are conditioned to be passive and inert, and to develop their sense of self only in relation to the other. (Everyone feels this way, therefore I will also feel this way.) As opposed to intero-conditioning, extero-conditioning does not seek to win the socializee's allegiance but rather to root out all sense of personal autonomy so that the individual will be incapable of making a choice on his own and thus forced to rely on "the other" for a cue as to how to act in any given situation. Whether at the bus stop, at work, or in the army, an individual who has been extero-conditioned falls into his place automatically, perceiving the only alternative to obedience as deviance.

The result is a kind of ghost, an imaginary construct of the way a soldier should behave. Hence, soldiers need not identify with what they are doing; what is important is that they believe everyone else is acting the same way.

"We have no choice... but to do what we have to do... I no longer trust anybody... *I've lost my 'I' and become a machine...*"

The war in Lebanon cannot inspire commitment; the soldiers have no idea what they're doing there, why they are there, or who is responsible for their being there. They can complain about Lebanon because everybody is complaining about it; but when it comes to following orders, "We have no choice."

Although intero-conditioning implies a limitation of freedom, it is a limitation that the individual assents to, seeing it as necessary for the realisation of a common objective. But the soldiers in Lebanon have no common objective. They only want to stay alive.

It is thus not surprising that the army has done everything in its power to keep reserve soldiers — most of whom feel committed to the Israeli army — away from Lebanon, preferring to send new recruits with only a few month's training (usually on the West Bank) in their place.

The change in the way soldiers relate to their service (and to society at large) has been gradual. It is the result of many factors, perhaps the most important being the economic boom that the country experienced after the 1967 war. The masses had to be extero-conditioned to buy more and more and adapt their budgets to the requirements of a growing economy. A consumer economy demands the inculcation of false needs among the public and this is usually done by convincing people they can't do without a given product, not because they need it but because everyone else "owns one of them." The systematic manipulation of consumer society has been carried over into the army.

The notion that the Lebanese war "ruined" the army reveals a strong sense of commitment on the part of those who make such claims. For the apathy and inertia of the troops has actually been instrumental in allowing the army to remain there for three years! Not only has the army not been plagued by insubordination, it has even been able to carry out an "iron fist" policy, which, most people agree, was based on a kind of strategy diametrically opposed to common sense.

The Appeal of the Right

The above can serve as a perspective for viewing the growing right-wing trend among Israeli youth. In the 1984 general elections, the Likud and Tehiya Parties received a higher percentage of votes from the soldiers than from the population at large. Kahane got 2.5 percent of the army vote as compared to 1.2 percent of the general vote. A plethora of polls have revealed that as many as 60 percent of the youth favour curtailing the civil rights of the Palestinians both in Israel and the occupied territories.

Liberal commentators try to explain this development by claiming that the right is providing young people with clear answers to the questions facing Israeli society; the centre, they say, is bankrupt, and the left bears too heavy a stigma to make its ideology attractive to the masses.

Now all this is true, but there's more to the story.

For the past 17-and-a-half years, Israeli children have been socialised into post-1967 Israel; for them, the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip is part of the natural order of things. At school they learned that the West Bank was actually "Judea and Samaria" — an integral part of the land of Israel.

Moreover, after being conditioned to be conditioned by school, the army, and the market, many adopt chauvinistic and racist attitudes not so much out of a sense of personal conviction but because "everybody feels that way." Racist feelings, for instance, are for each member of the society the racist feelings felt by the other, not by himself. Indeed, many of the worst racists are people who have little or no interaction with Arabs. What matters is that "everyone hates the Arabs." It is a climate of opinion against which they dare not rebel.

The Parable of the Frog

According to biologists, if one drops a cold-blooded animal — say, a frog — into a pot of boiling water, it will immediately reject its surroundings and scramble out.

But if it is placed in a pot of cold water whose temperature is only then slowly increased, the animal's metabolism will adjust to the temperature change. When the water boils, the frog will die, the victim of its adaptation.

---

* *Michael Lowry is a freelance journalist living in Jerusalem.*

Farmers Caught in No-Win Predicament

With the loss of most of the fertile land of Palestine, Palestinian farmers have suffered a great deal in their efforts to sustain an agricultural livelihood and existence. Al Fajr's Daoud Kuttab studies the difficulties small farmers have faced since the Israeli occupation in 1967.

"Land" and the idea of "Palestine" have been synonymous in the dictionaries of most Palestinian nationalists, so much so that working the land is seen as an important political act. However peasants, who constituted the vast majority of the labour force in the beginning of the 20th century, are now a minority. The displacement of the Palestinian population with the establishment of the state of Israel and the vast land expropriations in the West Bank and Gaza have forcibly changed the life styles and employment of most Palestinians. Today the vast majority of the working population living in the occupied territories has been converted to labourers filling Israeli factories and construction sites. Only a few have managed to stay tied to the land.

This change in numbers of farmers and availability of land has also changed the way landowners and farmers work the land and relate to each other. Before the establishment of Israel in 1948 most peasants owned and worked their own land plots throughout Palestine. After 1948 thousands of farmers lost their land and fled to the West Bank — many to the Jordan Valley — where they became refugees along with their families. Some 60,000 lived in two camps outside Jericho where the largest amount of rich farming land still under the control of Palestinians was concentrated. There in Jericho and the rest of the Jordan Valley large landowners hired these peasant refugees as cheap labour on their own several-dunum farms. The refugees received an hourly wage for their labour during the planting and harvesting seasons.

Following the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, most of the residents of the Jericho camps fled across the Joran River, leaving the landowners without the large numbers of cheap labourers they had depended upon to work their farms. As a result of the loss of these refugees and the employment of most available West Bank workers in Israeli factories, large landowners were forced to come up with a new system of farming. Farming had to become not only more productive but landowners had also to find a way to lure some of the labourers back to work on the land.

During the past 18 years of occupation, landowners in the Jordan Valley have been sharecropping their dunums with disenfranchised small farmers. This system has brought with it, however, major problems for the small farmers. They are now not only adversely affected by the various Israeli planting and marketing laws but have to fight another battle with wealthy landowners and marketing wholesalers.

Planting starts...

Farmers elsewhere would turn to government bodies, unions, or marketing cooperatives to solve their problems. But in the case of the Palestinian farmer, no unions exist, and the government is an occupying power which doesn't have the inhabitants' interest at heart. Cooperative organisations do not operate effectively because they have basically become official organs of the Jordanian government, more concerned with controlling the Palestinian market and maintaining ties with wealthy landowners than with providing help to the small farmer.

THE COOPERATIVE IS RUN BY THE VERY PEOPLE THE COOPERATIVES ARE INTENDED TO PROTECT THE SMALL FARMERS FROM.

Farming Systems

Two basic types of economic relationships exist now between landowners and small farmers: independent leasing and interdependent partnership. A leasing farmer with a little bit of ready cash contracts a strip of land from the owner for an agreed-upon sum and period of time. The farmer then has complete freedom to do with the land what he wishes. He can select the crop, decide on the planting method, and choose the way in which he wants to market the harvested crop.

Jamal al-Qadi, a recent agricultural engineering graduate, explains the advantages and disadvantages of this system: "The farmer has the opportunity to be creative in his farming and is not bound by marketing middlemen who take a portion of the profits." Qadi, who began farming two years ago by leasing 20 dunums, says, however, that few small farmers follow this route. "Because of the lack of hard cash in the beginning of the season and out of fear of a bad season, most farmers are afraid of this system," he said. Qadi himself lost about JD1000 in the '83-'84 season, a very poor harvest for all local farmers. This year he hopes to be able to make up his losses. Without Palestinian lending banks, it is also difficult for farmers to obtain ready cash for the rent as well as the seeds, irrigation tools, and other farming equipment. Thus, most farmers today prefer sharecropping.

Few landowner and farmer partnerships are in writing, but some basic principles are usually implemented in most agreements. The landowner is responsible for providing the land and water, while the farmer must farm the land and pick the crop. Expenses for seeds and equipment are shared, and the net profit is then usually evenly split. In some areas, however, landowners demand and get a larger cut of the net profit.

The small farmers face a number of dilemmas. If they cannot afford their share of the planting expenses, they are thus forced to buy seeds, plastic coverings, and pesticides either from the landowner or a wholesaling middleman. In addition, the farmer is often obliged by the landowner to market his crop through a marketing wholesaler of the landowner's choice. The wholesaler then takes a six percent cut of the gross profits. The landowner often demands a particular wholesalers, presumably so that he can keep a reliable check on what the farmer's crop has sold for, thereby making sure of the exact amount of his cut.

In the Jordan Valley a majority of the landowners are themselves wholesalers and run agricultural supply shops. The small farmer is then forced to buy from him and still split his profit with the landowner. Farmers are similarly obliged to plant the crop the landowner chooses and must accept whatever system of plantation the landowner wants. The vulnerability of the small farmer often places him at the mercy of the landowner. As long as the farmer needs to borrow or buy equipment, those who provide the cash or material have the opportunity to cheat and swindle him. Farmers have been reported to pay much higher prices than the usual 5-10 percent for seeds and other products when they have no cash.

Another problem facing small farmers is the lack of affordable farming machinery. Certain heavy equipment, like tractors for sub-soil ploughing, need to be used only once every five years. Unable to afford these machines, farmers have to either spend large amounts of money to rent them from farm rental agencies or go without the use of certain specialised types of equipment.

Marketing

As in any other place in the world, the Palestinian farmer's ability to market his product at stable rates makes or breaks him for the season. Farmers in general in the occupied territories have a number of disadvantages against them before they even bring their products to any local market. The unrestricted influx of agricultural products from Israel to the West Bank and Gaza creates a major problem since Palestinian products are not allowed reciprocal markets in Israel. The Palestinian farmer is placed in a situation of unfair competition with the Israeli farmers and their products who can, whenever they choose, flood the Palestinian market.

The Palestinian farmer also has a number of restrictions upon him when attempting to sell his crop in Jordan or in other Arab countries. For exporting products, a licence from the Jordanian government's cooperative office must be obtained. Depending on the agricultural situation in Jordan, the number of licences to export is controlled. Furthermore, the export licence is issued to the landowners, not to small farmers. Although the landowner is supposed to distribute the exporting rights fairly between his various farming partners, a number of farmers complain that the landowner provides for some of his favourite farmers to export to Jordan at the expense of others. In addition, many landowners themselves own the trucks which transport products to Jordan and thus make an additional profit when products are shipped in their trucks.

In the case of local marketing, the major problem is price. Prices are determined by supply and demand. Many farmers and wholesalers complain that the prices often fluctuate unrealistically. They cite examples of Israeli settlers coming to the markets buying or dumping large quantities of produce and creating prices on an out-of-proportion basis.

Marketing experts also cite the lack of a national plan for farming as a factor in the instability of prices. According to these experts, farmers and landowners decide what and how much to plant on an arbitrary basis, instead of a national decision to plant a certain amount of several different crops. "If tomato prices were good last year, farmers will plant tomatoes," say Abd al-Rahman Abu Arafeh, an agricultural engineer. Abu Arafeh, a noted expert on Jordan Valley farming, says that as a result, if many farmers flood the market with their tomatoes, the prices go down and next year nobody wants to plant tomatoes, leaving a shortage of the crop and forcing prices up again.

Drip irrigation, a capital-intensive but effective system, is out of the economic reach of most small farmers.

Other Problems

The farmer himself often has to carry a large burden of the local marketing responsibility. The farmer has many problems with selling his produce. Majed Dajani, a Jericho farmer, explains: "The farmer himself has to go early in the morning to the market to make sure that his product is sold and at a good price." Dajani explains that this often means that the farmer has to leave his farm for a few hours every day to helpers or family members who are often not experienced. "Sometimes during the farmer's absence a mistake is made that will cost a lot of money," he said.

The Jericho market itself has been a cause of problems in the past few years. When small farmers come with their pickup trucks to the market, they are unable to get in. Mohammed Mousa, a wholesaler at the Jericho market, says that big trucks come into the market and clog up traffic for the smaller trucks. As a result the small pickups usually stay outside the market and the farmers sell to the merchants while on the main street. But local police, unhappy with the traffic congestion during the early morning hours, give tickets to the small farmers unable to get inside. Dajani says the fines given farmers are a minimum of JD6. Omar Khalilieh, chief of traffic police in the West Bank and a Jericho resident, says that the problem must be solved with the municipality. "When fines no longer deter, then the problem has to be studied from other angles," he said. Wholesaler Mousa says that a dirt yard to the back of the market would be a good place for the big trucks to park, so that they can make room for the smaller pickups. He said that the municipality recommended this solution but no one has yet been assigned to implement it.

Cooperatives

With the various problems facing small farmers, the idea of marketing cooperatives is theoretically the remedy. With cooperatives, farmers could pool their resources and improve their situation. Adel Bergeth, the head of the Jericho agricultural office, says, however, that the cooperatives currently operating have not worked very well. He said that the Jericho marketing cooperative is run by several landowners or businessmen who do not have the interests of farmers in mind. The cooperative is then run by the very people the cooperatives are intended to protect the small farmers from.

In addition, Bergeth says that the Jordanian authorities have taken a special interest in the cooperatives to the extent that they have almost become a Jordanian government organ with appointments of cooperative personnel dictated by Jordan.

In order for the Palestinian farmers to market their products across the Jordan River they must be members of a registered cooperative. Therefore, the Jericho cooperative had to obtain a cooperative licence from the Jordanians. It is also true that the Jordanians provide a great percentage of the loans and the like available to the small farmers, putting the Palestinian farmer virtually at the mercy of the Hashemite regime.

The Jordanian authorities, through the Jordanian Cooperative Organisation, have given West Bank cooperatives the authority to issue land use licences. These licences, issued strictly to landowners, enable the holder to export his products to Jordan. The Jordanians use them to ensure that the products coming across the river are Arab, not Israeli. Last year because of the bad farming season, the Palestinian-Jordanian Joint Committee distributed JD290,000 to licensed West Bank landowners hurt by the bad season. Bergeth says that the compensation at the rate of JD20 for every registered dunum was given only to the landowners. No compensation whatsoever was given to the working farmers who had borne the brunt of last year's losses.

Many small farmers charge the cooperative has failed to fulfill some of the basic reasons for its existence. Farmers complain that at least the two main functions of funding and marketing have not been sufficiently borne by the cooperatives. The Jericho Cooperative is said to give a loan of JD25 for every dunum. But farmers complain that this one-time loan is given only after the farmer has finished his planting. "We need loans before we plant, for buying seeds, plastics, and pesticides, and not after we plant," said Dajani. Other farmers say that if the cooperatives would themselves distribute or sell some of the essential materials needed, then the farmers would not be at the mercy of the wholesalers who have monopolised the markets.

Farmers also request that cooperatives get involved in the local marketing. "If a wholesaler gets a cut of the selling price, why not have the cooperative act as a wholesaler and use the commission on sales to improve the situation of the farmers?" asked Dajani.

Small farmers must rent expensive equipment from large landowners and agents to plow, seed, and harvest./SF photo

Omar Daoudi, manager of the Jericho Marketing Cooperative, strongly disagreed with the criticism. He explains that the cooperative members choose an administrative committee which in turn appoints paid staff. "The administrative committee is voluntary in the sense that the members are not paid at all," he said. Daoudi admitted that many of the committee members are not farmers but said that all have connections with farming. Regarding relations with Jordan, Daoudi said that the Jordanian Cooperative Organisation operates as a semi-governmental organisation. "Its board consists half of government appointees and half from the cooperatives themselves," he said. Daoudi said that the JCO pays the salaries of most administrative employees in the various cooperatives. "But the appointments are made by the administrative committee and then are recommended to the JCO for approval," he said. Daoudi said that when cooperatives can pay their own employees, then they will have a stronger say about who gets appointed. In the case of the Jericho cooperative, Daoudi said that the JCO has given a lot of money to be used for loans for farmers and must make sure that the money is spent well.

Regarding loans, Daoudi said that farmers themselves wait till the season begins to ask for loans and thus by the time their request is looked into, the season is halfway over. Daoudi also said that farmers don't usually make deals with the landowners till shortly before the season begins. "If a farmer comes to ask for a loan before he makes an agreement with a landowner, I can't give him a loan," explained Daoud, in case the farmer would then take the money and run. The head of the Jericho cooperative says that farmers need to plan their seasons much earlier than they do at present. "Between April and August most tenant farmers who work in the Jiftlik area return to their home-towns near Jenin and Nablus and forget about the farming season until mid-August," he said.

Regarding the 1983 compensations, Daoudi said that the money was distributed as loans and was distributed evenly between farmers and landowners. "The problem is that there are fewer landowners than farmers and thus what each landowner received was much more than what each farmer received," he said. Daoudi explained that if one landowner is in partnership with 10 farmers over a piece of land, the money is given to be divided 50 percent to the landowner and the other 50 percent among the 10 farmers.

Aims

According to Omar Daoudi, the Jericho cooperative is planning to be able to purchase heavy farming equipment and make it available to member farmers. He also said that the cooperative aims to be able to distribute farming supplies on condition that farmers buy in cash. As to the question of doing the marketing in local markets, Daoudi said that the Jericho cooperative will not enter this field.

Despite their strong criticism of cooperatives, farmers admit that they have no other alternative. With no government or unions, West Bank farmers have nobody to work on their behalf other than the cooperatives. But farmers insist that the present conflict of interest with those running cooperatives must be stopped. They hope that the cooperatives will begin to do what they were created for: to look after the interests of the small farmers, and not the landowners and the Jordanian government. ■

Why Did the Police Beat Sami Up?

Brutality against Arabs is taken lightly and even condoned in Israeli society, as Odeh Lipshitz described in this report for the Hebrew daily *Al Hamishmar*.

Sami Abu Ta'iya is used to being asked for his ID papers. "I don't know how," he says, "but soldiers and policemen always seem to know that I'm an Arab, even though I can pass for a Jew and I speak reasonably good Hebrew."

Sami is 23 years old. He was born in Nazareth, but for the past two years he's been living in Tel Aviv, studying engineering at Yad Singlivoski and working part-time to make ends meet. He took the trouble to register himself as a Tel Aviv resident at the local Ministry of Interior office.

He gets along well with his classmates, even though many of them hold right-wing views. But at the Tel Aviv central bus station, it is a different story. "I'm always stopped," says Sami "and I avoid the place unless I have no choice." On Friday he didn't have a choice. When he alighted from the bus, three women soldiers who were patrolling the area asked him for his ID. He complied with their request — as always. After looking over his papers, they asked him to open the suitcase he was carrying. He complied with their request; he understands the situation. But when the women soldiers demanded he remove everything from the suitcase, including food and clean clothes, and dump it all on the sidewalk, Sami made a "mistake." He did not refuse to comply, but he did mumble something about the dirt.

"If you don't want to, you don't have to," one of the soldiers said. "Don't take anything out of your suitcase if you don't feel like it." Another soldier immediately went off to get some help and returned a few moments later with three male soldiers. Sami remembers that they were in uniform, but he doesn't know the difference between a border police uniform and a regular army uniform. Later, when he lodged a complaint at the police station, he was told that they must have been border police, because the women soldiers patrolling the bus station and the border police work in tandem.

The soldiers told Sami to accompany them to the police station for questioning and Sami complied. On the way, they passed by an alley. The soldiers pushed Sami into the alley, stood him against a wall, and began punching him in a "professional" manner, so as not to leave any marks on his body. According to Sami, the passers-by must have seen what was going on in the alley, but no one interfered. No one even bothered to ask why a citizen was being beaten up for no apparent reason.

The incident made Sami furious. The whole story about going to the police station had only been a ruse to get him into a dark alley. He decided to do something about it, and went to the nearest police station on Rakevet Street to lodge a complaint. Sami says he was sent from one floor to the next, and then from the duty desk to the officer responsible for dealing with the public's complaints, and then back again to the duty desk. In the end he was told that since he claimed to have been beaten up in the vicinity of the central bus station, he would have to lodge his complaint at the police station at the central bus station. Sami didn't have time that day, on account of work. But on Sunday, he phoned a couple of his friends at *Al Hamishmar* and came over to the office to get some help.

Now maybe I'm skeptical by nature, and maybe that's why I agreed to help Sami when Miriam Ein Dor asked me. I thought that someone ought to go with him to the police station to help him lodge his complaint. We went to the police station at the central bus station. The policeman at the front desk was courteous and attentive. "You're not giving us much to go on," he said to Sami. "But we have a log book with the names of the women soldiers on duty at the central bus station at 10:30 last Friday, when you say the incident occurred. The only trouble is, you'll have to go over to the police station on Rakevet Street." Sami said he had been there and been told otherwise. The policeman said there must have been some misunderstanding and that he didn't take complaints. "You'll have to go to the Rakevet Street station," he said.

> Now my guess is that when it comes to police brutality, Arabs have a rougher time than Jews.

So we went to the police station on Rakevet Street. A courteous and attentive police officer listened to Sami's story. He told him to wait until the investigator in the next room could take down his complaint. We waited around until we got fed up. We went over to the officer we had spoken to earlier; he asked us to be patient and wait a little while longer. The investigator in the next room was in the middle of interrogating a number of suspects and as soon as he finished, he would see Sami.

We waited. While we were waiting, a police sergeant walked into the room. (Sami remembers his badge number.) He asked us what we were waiting for and we told him. "You can't lodge a complaint against a policeman here," said the sergeant. "If you want to lodge a complaint against the women soldiers, go over to the station on Dizengoff Street — that's their headquarters. If you want to press charges against the border police, go over to Beit Dagon." We told him that the officer at the desk had told us to wait and that it was a citizen's right to lodge a complaint at any police station he chooses. The sergeant was persistent, and the officer, who was present throughout the interaction, listened to the sergeant contradict what he had just said without interfering.

Of course, I butted in on Sami's behalf. The sergeant asked me, "Who are you?" I replied that I had come along with Sami, but didn't mention the fact that I was a journalist. "You're not his lawyer, so keep out of it," the sergeant said offensively. "Get out of here and wait for him outside." I tried to argue with him, but it was no use; so I went out. Sami stayed. He's a good citizen and was not willing to waive his right to lodge a complaint. Sami said that the sergeant threatened to slap him across the face if he didn't stop arguing with him. I didn't hear that part of the conversation, but I believe Sami; it fits in with the sergeant's behaviour.

Sami had had enough physical violence on Friday, so he left the station. Outside, we debated what to do next. I said that even if we had time, it would be pointless to go over to the Dizengoff station or Beit Dagon. It was clear they were unwilling to take his complaint. (And had we gone to Beit Dagon or Dizengoff, we probably would have been sent to Eilat or Nazareth.) I promised to see what I could do through journalistic channels and Sami said he would give me a ring in a few days time.

Back at the newspaper I phoned the Tel Aviv police spokesperson and spoke to his assistant, Shlomit. She said that Sami was perfectly within his rights and told me to tell him to drop by at the Dizengoff Street station and lodge his complaint. "He has nothing to worry about," she said, "no one will lay a finger on him." He was told that he would have to go to Beit Dagon to identify the soldiers that beat him up.

It took four visits to the police and the intervention of a journalist before Sami could lodge his complaint. Now, I wasn't with Sami when he got beaten up at the central bus station, and I've only heard his version of the story. I told him that it would be hard to prove, as he was by himself and he didn't have any witnesses. Even if he finds the women soldiers or the border policemen, they'd probably deny the whole thing and back each other up so as not to get into trouble.

Sami said that the police can find out what happened if they want to; even if there is conflicting evidence, the police can ferret out the truth. I don't know whether Sami has an inflated picture of the capabilities of the police or whether he thinks the police neither want to find out what happened nor who beat him up. I told him to keep me informed...

We've all been reading about police brutality and corruption in the press lately; it seems to be a nationwide plague. Now my guess is that when it comes to police brutality, Arabs have a rougher time than Jews.

In any case before I conclude, I ought to point out that there are a lot of people in this country who would respond to the above story by saying that Sami should have been relieved he was only beaten up and not sent to the Gulf states — a fate he deserves for being an Arab. Of course, I don't know how many people would respond this way. I haven't checked it out and perhaps it's only the fantasy of a leftist-defeatist-degenerate humanitarian consumed by self-hate. Perhaps not. It could just be an accurate reflection on the society we're living in. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, April 15, 1985) ■

Text Documents New and Old Childbirth Customs

The cover of the book

by Said al-Ghazali

Birth and Childhood: A Study in Palestinian Culture and Society was recently published by *In'ash al-Usra*, the Family Rehabilitation Society, in al-Bireh on the West Bank. The book includes detailed text about traditional Palestinian customs, beliefs, songs, tales, sayings, riddles, food, games, popular medicine, magic spells, and mythology related to marriage, childbirth, and child rearing. The hard-bound book, published in 1984, contains 471 glossy pages, complete with Palestinian art illustrations and informational supplements. Printed in Arabic, the volume costs JD10 (US$25), and would make an excellent addition to the library of every Palestinian interested in local traditions.

Birth and Childhood documents the social practices of Arabs in Palestine which have been passed on from generation to generation. Although many of these customs are no longer in practice, some are still prevalent, particularly among the less educated sectors of the population. The book, however, makes no mention of which customs are still practised and where. It does distinguish between Muslim and Christian versions of these customs, for example, in words of spells, songs, and so forth. But many folkloric traditions are shared by Muslims, who comprise around 90 percent of the Palestinian population, and Christians alike.

The book was co-authored by five people — Dr Sharif Kana'neh, Abd al-Aziz Abu Hadba, Umar Hamdan, Nabil al-Qam, and Walid Rabi'ah. With the exception of Kana'aneh, who is an anthropologist, none of the writers are actually folklore experts, but they have served together on the social and popular Palestinian heritage committee at *In'ash al-Usra* since 1972. The committee, which aims at collecting anything about Palestinian heritage and publication, has completed a wide variety of projects over the years including a folklore museum, a study of social and cultural life in the Ramallah village of Turmos 'Aya, three folklore festivals, an introductory manual for the study of folklore, and a volume on Palestinian popular dress. The committee has also been issuing a quarterly magazine, *Heritage and Society*, since 1974.

The authors believe the book's purpose is to preserve Palestinian folk culture from attempts to undermine it or eradicate it by the introduction of other cultural influences. In their introduction, they put their work in perspective with the following words: "Writing this book does not mean that we call for returning to actual practice of these traditions. At the same time, we are not suggesting that people disregard the traditions completely. We are not qualified to offer recommendations about adapting traditions to the needs of the present or about the dangers of the tradition that should be disregarded."

Samiha Salameh Khalil, chairperson of *In'ash al-Usra*, commented, "The primary aim of the society is to care for Palestinian culture and heritage and to preserve it from distortion, theft, and loss. We want to prove to the entire world that the Palestinian people have a culture deeply rooted in the past." She continued: "This study, contains both positive and negative elements of Palestinian heritage."

The book includes information on the society's behaviour towards its children, particularly regarding their character development. Palestinian children are brought up to respect their elders and behave in accordance with the social norms and values, according to the book. The essential unifying element is society's concentration on the importance of having children. The social values then taught to children reinforce tradition.

The main goal of marriage in traditional society is to bear children, as early and as many as possible. It is very important in Palestinian society to arrange early marriages for sons and daughters. The marriageable age for a female in traditional society is 13, and for the male, 16. Once married, the children would in turn have children of their own immediately and, as soon as they reach the age of maturity, the cycle continues. This cycle includes five stages according to the authors:

1. From the boy's circumcision to his marriage, his family searches for a suitable wife for their son. (Similar effort is channeled to arranging marriages for daughters, although there is no circumcision for girls.)

2. After the marriage is arranged, the family concerns itself with their hope of an early pregnancy.

3. After pregnancy, the family cares for its success and the safety of the infant and mother.

4. From the baby's birth until the 40th day, there is great concern about the mother and the newborn's safety.

5. From the 40th day to the time of circumcision (or, in the case of the daughter, marriage) the entire family bears the responsibility of bringing up the child.

The authors' division of chapters indicates that there is an implicit social theory in the book. Kana'neh said that the process of writing, collecting information, and organising the chapters of the book was planned with a concrete aim regarding birth as an important social phenomenon in Palestinian society.

In the first chapter, entitled "The Importance of Children in Palestinian Society," we find that all sectors of Palestinian society prefer male children because they inherit the family wealth, preserve and maintain its power, win its bread, and even help to make the marriage of the father and mother successful.

The preference for males, according to the book, stems from the patriarchal nature of Arab society. The female is considered an economic burden on her family all her life, primarily because she will not support the family like the male will. Instead, she will marry into another family. The family wants to marry off their daughters as soon as possible. Marriage for a woman is looked upon as her source of livelihood, indeed her career. It is the duty of the man to earn money and to provide his wife with what she needs. Her role, according to tradition, is to obey and serve him and their children. According to Islam, the woman is entitled to get half of the inheritance the man receives. However, in practice she is often persuaded by her family to abandon her right, because the wealth will then be transferred to her husband.

Also in the chapter, we find that newly married women, and even engaged girls, are encouraged to bear children. "Bring a boy. He will control the freedom of the man and prevent him from leaving you," they tell her. "Every child you have will make your position with your husband stronger," they say.

In the second chapter entitled "Preparations for Marriage," the story of marriage from years before it takes place until its consummation is told. After circumcision, which traditionally occurs when the boy is seven years old, according to the book, the family is concerned with separating the boy from the world of women. He stops accompanying his mother on her visits. When he becomes a young man, pressure is put upon him and his parents to marry as soon as possible.

The primary criterion for choosing a wife in traditional society is her fertility. The songs sung at weddings speak about the importance of productivity and bearing many children.

Immediately after marriage, there is much talk about pregnancy and how to ward off any disease. A late pregnancy or one that has its share of problems is caused, according to tradition, by physical or supernatural reasons. The physical

The baby is born...

reasons can include the mother having a weak back, a closed womb, or a loose uterus. The supernatural reasons include magic (someone may have cast a spell on the woman), *karineh* (meaning "counterpart"; *the young woman has a rival genie* who hates her and will cause her baby to be ill or die), and *kabseh* (a woman relative sees the young woman before she has bathed at the end of her menstrual period and this has the effect of closing her womb).

Once pregnancy occurs, all members of the family offer advice to the woman. The pregnancy then passes through two different stages: the stage when the woman craves different things, and the stage when the fetus begins to move. The future mother is advised not to work hard and she is provided with good nutrition and health care. She is protected against the *evil eye* (those who may look upon her with envy and cause harm to the baby) and miscarriage. Their infant's clothes are prepared in the seventh month. At this time, there is much talk and prediction about the sex of the future child. The shape of the woman's belly and the baby's movements help to tell whether the infant is a boy or girl.

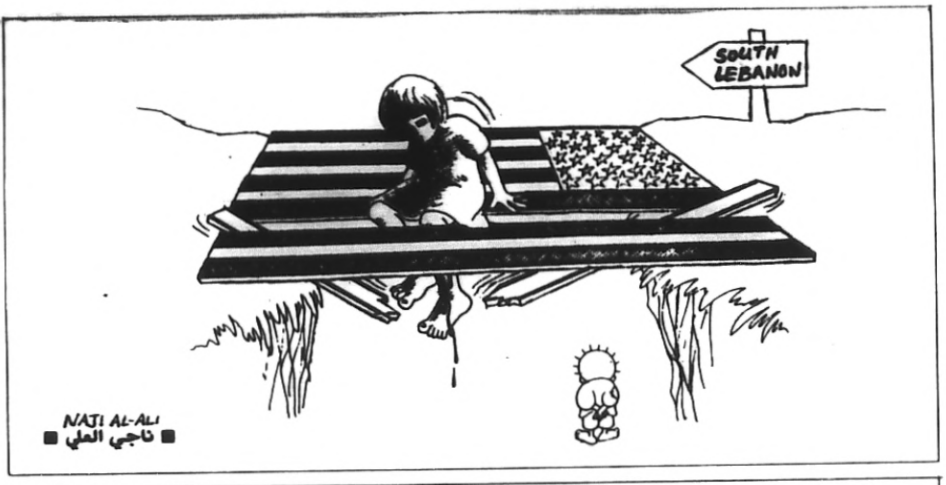
The third chapter covers the period right before the birth until the 40th day afterwards. When the woman feels labour pains she summons the midwife, who brings her bag of tools and a special anklet for the baby. The woman is given a sage drink.

The book portrays the importance of children by describing the way people joyfully celebrate the birth of the new infant. The female relatives of the newborn infant begin their festive call (the *zagharid*) and announce the birth and sex of the newborn. The women begin to sing and distribute *halawan*, or sweets, usually chocolates. The woman who carries the good news to the grandfather is given a valuable gift.

If the newborn is a girl, some families will view this negatively. It will

continued on page 15

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The protests that followed the killing of an Arab taxi driver, Palestinian rejection of Murphy's proposals, and the fighting in and around Sidon were the main stories covered by the local press this week.

The general strike which shut down East Jerusalem as well as protest actions throughout the occupied territories in the wake of Khamis Tutunji's murder were given prominence in all local papers.

The Palestinian press also reprinted quotations of a number of leading PLO representatives as well as Palestinian personalities in the occupied territories regarding Murphy's proposals. Palestinians rejected the US diplomat's proposals for a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation without the PLO.

Newspapers ran long reports from international wire services of the fighting outside Sidon and the defeat of the Phalangist forces in the surounding villages.

Egypt Does not Speak for the Palestinians

During the recent Egyptian-Israeli contacts the rulers of the Egyptian regime pretended they were the makers of the decision regarding the Palestinian cause. They talk about the quality of the Jordanian-Palestinian joint delegation. They have contacts with specific persons in the occupied territories who accept to have contacts with them. And they declare that they do not want to contact others, although they realise that these "others" do not want to contact them.

This "confidence" in speaking for the Palestinians and in "arranging" a scenario with them so as to reach Camp David would not have emerged in the statements of the Egyptian officials had they not received the "green light" from those sitting in Cairo in the name of the official PLO leadership. Or at least the Egyptians are confident that their statements will not be refuted by the official leadership.

No one of this leadership replied to the statements of Kamal Hassan Ali, who excluded the participation of any of them in the joint delegation which they seek. He decided that the Palestinian party in this Camp David type delegation will consist of "lawyers and mayors" from the West Bank.

No one of this official leadership thought of the kind of Egyptian "solidarity" with the Palestinian people when he read the statement of Kamal Hassan Ali that Taba is the major obstacle to normalisation of relations between Egypt and Israel. Mubarak is trying to draw Jordan to Camp David.

All this indicates the falseness of the allegations that the Amman agreement aims at revealing the American positions. The claims that American imperialism can be drawn to support the Arab position actually meant securing American protection for those who go along with American plans.

AL TALI'A
April 25

Security of Citizens

In all advanced and civilised countries in the world, there are laws to regulate the lives of citizens and guarantee the security and safety of their lives and property.

And in all civilised countries there are authorities to enforce the laws and protect the citizens from assaults by lawless and rash elements. According to international conventions, the occupier should bear the responsibility for keeping law and order in the occupied territories.

But the events that took place recently in the occupied territories made the residents feel insecure. Their lives and property are under threat without any justification. Moreover, some elements are finding justification to increase tension.

The Israelis should take measures to deter criminals who take law into their own hands and commit murder and other crimes. There is no doubt that stability and security in the occupied territories are of extreme importance, especially because the Arab population is unarmed. The continuation of tension is not in the interest of peace.

AL QUDS
April 26

European Public Opinion

West European support for the Arab causes is receding year after year because of the contradicting Arab alliances. If these Arab alliances take a comprehensive political form of the whole Arab reality, then the European attitude will be pushed toward the American attitude just to become part of it.

The Arab alliances have not only lost official European support, but they have also lost European public support. The events in the area are being depicted as sectarian or ethnic problems.

The continuation of the Iran-Iraq war prevents the Arabs from defining a unified Arab stand. This adds to the loss of European support. In Lebanon also, the Syrian role has done great harm to the Lebanese national movement and the PLO. This was followed by the last Syrian move: fabricating the "Salvation Front" and inflicting great harm on Palestinian national unity.

The restoration of European support for Arab causes requires the restoration of a unified Arab stand on all these causes.

AL FAJR
April 26

We Don't Need New Initiatives

US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy's current tour of the Middle East is nearing its end. Today he is scheduled to be in Amman, and from there he will fly to Cairo on his way home to Washington. During this visit, Murphy has been able to meet with all parties concerned with the Arab-Israeli conflict except for the PLO.

But when Murphy meets twice with Palestinian notables from the occupied territories, it is as if he is announcing that there is no solution to the Middle East problem without Palestinian participation.

The United States is continuing to insist that the PLO must not be represented in the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. And during his meetings with Palestinians, Murphy learned that all the Palestinians, no matter where they are, believe that the PLO is the only frame through which they can express themselves, especially after the Palestinian leadership declared its readiness to hold direct negotiations through the international peace conference, and after the signing of the Amman accord with Jordan.

If the US is keen on reaching a just and comprehensive peace to the Arab-Israeli conflict in the region, then this conflict does not need any new initiatives. There are dozens of such initiatives, and one can say that the Palestinian-Jordanian accord is an open window through which the sunlight reaches this dark region.

AL QUDS
April 27

Dangers in the South

When the Ja'ja' forces were shelling the Palestinian camps, there was no Syrian reaction. But when the Lebanese nationalist forces began to purge the Sidon area from the isolationists, Syria sent an expert on Lebanese affairs to Beirut.

The victories achieved by the nationalist forces should not make us forget that the Syrian regime cannot tolerate the extension of this revolutionary tide. Therefore, we warn the Syrian regime that it is to blame for any new aggression on the camps. We also warn any circles that try to exploit the situation to perpetuate the sectarian partition in Lebanon.

AL SHA'AB
April 29

New Political Realities in Lebanon

The speed of the Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist movement in Lebanon creates new political realities in Lebanon that may upset the Syrian-Phalangist-Israeli equation there.

During the past few days the Phalangist forces backed by the Jumblatt and Berri forces shelled the Palestinian camps with the support and direction of the Syrian regime. The pro-Syrian isolationist forces liquidated the Murabitoun movement in Beirut.

When the Palestinian nationalist forces allied with the PLO were able to repel the aggression, the Syrian news media started an outcry in Damascus. The biggest distortion of this campaign was the accusation that there was a "Muslim attack against the Christian villages." But observers realise that the current fighting is between the nationalist forces and the isolationists.

The question is: Where was the Syrian media when the Palestinian camps came under fire? Lebanon, as we have always said, will remain the base for the Arab liberation movements despite all the obstacles.

AL FAJR
April 29

IN TESTIMONY OF UNDERGROUND SUSPECT

Settler Rabbis Supported Underground

According to Menachem Livni — considered the leader of the Jewish terrorist underground — a group of *rabbis* gave their blessing to the underground's plans to attack the Arab population of the occupied territories. Livni, known to many as the "commander" of the underground, is charged with the car bomb attack on the West Bank mayors, a conspiracy to blow up the Temple Mount, an attack on the Islamic Academy, and planting time bombs on a number of East Jerusalem buses.

Livni told his interrogators that after the attack on the Beit Hadassah settlers, a meeting of *rabbis* and public figures was held in Kiryat Arba. Among those present were Rabbi Waldman (today a Tehiya MK), Rabbi Moshe Levinger, Rabbi Arieli, Ze'ev Friedman ,and Eli Shitz, to name a few... The idea of staging an attack on the Arab population in order to intimidate them was brought up, and received the unanimous support of everyone present.

Fahd Qawasmeh

A "team" was chosen to plan and carry out the attacks, but it soon became apparent that "they lacked motivation" and the team fell apart. Livni told his interrogators that "a short time later I met Rabbi Levinger and told him about my idea to carry out an operation and allow only pure god-fearing and pious men to participate... Rabbi Waldman asked to take part in a violent action but I did not consider his candidacy to be a real possibility.

"During the first stage," said Livni, "we discussed the possibility of attacking the mayor of Hebron, Qawasmeh, and the mayor of Halhoul, Mohammed Milhem. When the National Guidance Committee broadened the scope of their activities, we decided to attack them as well. I told Rabbi Levinger about the targets we had chosen, and he vigorously protested against them, calling on us to stage a mass attack that would intimidate [the Arab population] ...I opposed his idea..."

Livni also claimed that the late Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook supported the idea of a Jewish underground which could intimidate the Arab population in the occupied territories. Moreover, Livni's confession implicates a number of well-known *rabbis* associated in one way or another with Gush Emunim. Livni even claims that former Chief Sephardi Rabbi Ovadia Yosef responded favourably to the underground's plan to blow up the Dome of the Rock. Livni then began preparing for the operation "both spiritually and practically." In his statement he describes the two years of preparations for the operation in detail, but the court forbade publication of that part of his testimony. Details regarding the attack on the Islamic Academy were also withheld, on account of it being scheduled for a separate trial.

After the academy attack, friends of Livni approached him

Mohammed Milhem

with the idea of staging attacks against the local population in order to intimidate them from attacking West Bank settlers.

Livni also revealed that members of the underground also planned an attack on Bir Zeit University. However, when the government closed the campus, the attack was called off.

Menachem Neuberger — another Jewish underground suspect — made a deal with the attorney, plea-bargaining his way to reduced charges. Neuberger, Waldman's son-in-law, is a resident of Sussia, a West Bank settlement. He was charged with membership in a terrorist organisation, conspiracy to blow up the Dome of the Rock, and complicity in the attack on the members of the National Guidance Committee. The new charges have not yet been presented to the court. (Translation: HaAretz, May 2, 1985).

Nazareth Landowners Protest 1500% Tax Hike

Palestinian landowners in the Nazareth district, the Galilee, and the Triangle met to protest recent property tax increases as high as 1500 percent which they say are intended to drive them out of their homes.

Nazareth Mayor and MK Tawfiq Zayyad (DFPE) attended the meeting April 24 in the al-Salam Mosque in Nazareth, as did MK Abd al-Wahab Darawshe (Labour). The landowners at the meeting agreed to form a committee to follow up the issue.

On April 23, the Nazareth municipal council held an extraordinary meeting to discuss the tax issue. Deputy Mayor of Nazareth Ramez Jaraiseh told the council that tax assessments were linked to the US dollar, not to the cost of living increases. The Interior and Treasury ministries caculated the tax according to last month's dollar rates, while in the past they were based on the rate in October of the previous year, he said. Landowners used to be allowed to pay the tax in several installments, but this year the entire tax had to be paid in one lump sum by the end of April, Jaraiseh explained. This year's estimates were 12 to 15 times higher than in the previous year.

Mayor Zayyad told the meeting that the property tax levied on the Arab citizens is "much more than that paid by Jewish citizens who own property of the same value." Zayyad said Israeli Trade and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon owns 4000 dunums of land and pays almost nothing to the government in tax. He demanded that the government allocate "state land" for Arabs to solve the acute housing shortage as it does for Jewish citizens in settlement projects called "Build Your Own Home."

Deputy Mayor of Nazareth Amin Mohammed Ali told the meeting, "We are facing a new kind of land confiscation. It seems we are approaching more Days of the Land."

The council decided to protest and condemn the tax increases and to call for their cancellation. It urged quick action by the Arab councils, land defence committee, and public opinion to confront these recent measures by holding popular meetings on all government attempts to take over Arab-owned land in Israel.

Calendar

May 3

Engineers Day: The West Bank Union of Engineers will sponsor a day of lectures, discussions, and exhibits. The day begins at 10:00 am at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem.

May 4

Theatre: *Festival*, performed by the al-Sanabel Theatre Company at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, 7:00 pm. Tickets IS1000. Tel: (02) 288189/280957.

May 5

Theatre: *Festival*, performed by the al-Sanabel Theatre Company at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, 7:00 pm. Tickets IS1000. Tel: (02) 288189/280957.

May 6

Labour Day Conference: The Federation of West Bank Unions, headed by Shehadeh Menawi, will sponsor a central celebration. The celebration begins at 3:00 pm at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem.

May 9

Concert: *Bach Organ Festival Recital*, by Elizabeth Roloff. One of a series of twelve weekly concerts on Thursday evenings to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the birth of Johann Sebastian Bach. At the Church of the Redeemer, Muristan Road (Old City), Jerusalem, 8:00 pm. Tickets available at door. Tel: (02) 282543/286654..

ORTHODOX RELIEF SOCIETY CELEBRATES THEIR 59TH

The Orthodox Society for the Relief of the Sick in Jerusalem — "The Myrrh Bearers" — celebrated its 59th anniversary April 28. The Right Reverend Hanna Sakkab of St Elias Orthodox Church in Syracuse, New York said mass in commemoration of the anniversary along with Metropolitan Emanus of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem. Reverend Sakkab presented the society with a donation of medical equipment from his patriarchate and other Arab American friends for use in the Orthodox polyclinic in the Old City. An X-ray unit is scheduled to be operating at the polyclinic sometime in the middle of May.

جامعة بيرزيت

BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY SUMMER PROGRAMME 1985

1. *Arabic 131: Classical, Beginners.*
2. *Arabic 132: Classical, Intermediate.*
3. *Arabic 130: Colloquial, Beginners.*
4. *Sociology 335: Sociology of Religion.*
5. *Sociology 438: Development Under Occupation.*
6. *Sociology 234: Palestinian Society.*
7. *Anthropology 233: Introduction to Folklore.*
8. *Political Science 433: Modernisation of the Arab World.*

The six-week courses will run from July 1 — August 16.

Tuition: US$250 per course. Application Fee: US$25.
Housing: US$175 for 6 weeks. Medical Fee: US$10.
For course descriptions and application forms write to:

Summer Programme 1985
Office of the Registrar
Bir Zeit University
P.O. Box 14, Bir Zeit
West Bank, via Israel

LEARN ARABIC WITH ARABS IN JERUSALEM

The Arab Council for Public Affairs Announces

An Intensive, Two-Month Arabic Course for foreign students

July 1 — August 30

The course will include: day-long teaching workshops, boarding arrangements in furnished apartments and rooms, visits to Arab homes, tours of the country, and more.

For Further Information, write:

Arab Council for Public Affairs
Cultural Department
P.O. Box 19030, Jerusalem

NOTICE

All institutions, unions, and organisations in the West Bank and Gaza are encouraged to submit notices of activities and events for advertisement in *Al Fajr* English Weekly's calendar. Include the name of the event, the location, time, telephone number, and price. Entries can be submitted by telephone (02-281835) or by mail to *Al Fajr* English, P.O. Box 19315, East Jerusalem. Deadline: Thursdays at 12:00 noon for Friday publication.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Bethlehem University students oversee a textbook exhibition at the university April 23, 24, and 25. The exhibit was raided April 19 when Israeli troops broke into the university for what they believed was an exhibit of "illegal material." The exhibit was reopened on April 23 when none of the material was found to be offensive. /AO photo

April 24, 1985

TULKARM PRISONERS COMPLAIN ABOUT CONDITIONS

Palestinian political prisoners in Tulkarm prison are suffering from maltreatment, beatings, and inadequate medical attention. Lawyer Felicia Langer, who recently visited the prison, said she had complained to the director, who promised to improve inmates' conditions.

2 ARROUB TEENAGERS JAILED

The Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Ibrahim Rajab al-Jawabreh, 17, of al-Arroub village in the Hebron district, to one-and-a-half years in prison and a similar suspended sentence, and Atef Mohammed al-Titi, 17, also of al-Arroub, to one year in prison and one year suspended, both on "security charges."

2 STUDENTS BARRED FROM NAJAH PREMISES

Israeli military authorities have barred two Najah University students, Abdullah Daoud and Husam Uthman, both from Balata refugee camp near Nablus, from entering the university premises for six months, effective April 24.

STUDENT JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

The Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced university student Ali Ahmad al-Sous of Dura village in the Hebron district to 20 months' imprisonment and 28 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

April 25, 1985

KALANDIA AND JALAZON UNDER CURFEW

The Israelis clamped a curfew on three Palestinian refugee camps. Kalandia camp north of Jerusalem came under curfew following the stoning of Israeli troops. Al-Am'ari camp near Ramallah was also placed under curfew following the stoning of an Israeli bus.

The army imposed a curfew on Jalazon camp north of Ramallah after stone-throwing incidents.

2 YOUTHS JAILED

The Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Faleh Mustafa Afamneh of Jenin to eight months in prison and 22 months suspended on security charges.

The court also sentenced Shafi Shehadeh Shalash from the village of Shukba in the Ramallah district to four months in prison and eight months suspended on charges of possession of weapons.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DENOUNCES TUTUNJI MURDER

The Arab Chamber of Commerce in Jerusalem strongly condemned the murder of taxi driver Khamis Ayoub al-Tutunji last Monday. The Chamber called on Israeli authorities to find those responsible for committing the crime.

April 26, 1985

PALESTINIAN FLAGS IN GALILEE

Arab villages in the western part of the Galilee did not raise Israeli flags to mark the anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel.

Instead, some villages raised Palestinian flags over school buildings and electric poles. Such incidents occurred in the villages of Kawkab and Arrabeh.

SETTLER FIRES AT RAFAH CARS

A Jewish settler opened fire on four parked Mercedes cars in the town of Rafah in the Gaza Strip after a local youth reportedly threw stones at his vehicle. No injuries were reported.

ARMY STORMS BURIN VILLAGE

A large Israeli army force stormed the village of Burin in the Nablus district and ordered its residents to gather in the village centre as soldiers searched their houses for four hours.

PALESTINIAN PHARMACISTS' DAY

Under the slogan "Yes to National Unity," pharmacists in the West Bank and Gaza Strip celebrated Palestinian Pharmacists' Day.

April 28, 1985

MAPAM CONFERS WITH SHAWWA

The secretary-general of the Israeli Mapam Party, Elazer Granot, has called on the Israeli government to allow Palestinian personalities from the occupied territories to hold direct talks with Palestine Liberation Organisation leaders. Granot, together with a delegation from Mapam, met in Gaza with deposed Mayor Haj Rashad al-Shawwa.

Shawwa said during the meeting that "each Palestinian is an inseparable part of the PLO led by Yasir Arafat."

He expressed his readiness to participate in a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation for Middle East peace talks, but said he must first receive a green light from the PLO.

STIFF SENTENCES FOR 3 YOUTHS

The Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Khalil Ahmad Sakarneh, a student at the Polytechnic College in Hebron, to seven years' imprisonment on security charges. The court also sentenced Abd al-Majid Shakarneh to nine years and Said Hussein to two years on security charges. Both are residents of Nahalin village.

EGGED BUS STONED IN SHU'FAT

An Israeli Egged bus had one of its windows smashed when it was stoned near the Palestinian neighbourhood of Shu'fat, just north of Jerusalem, Israel Radio reported. An Arab passenger was injured, and police detained two suspects, the radio said.

KUFR KANNA RESIDENTS IRED BY NEW TAXES

Dozens of residents of the Galilee village of Kufr Kanna held a mass meeting in their village to discuss high property taxes imposed this year on Arab citizens by Israeli authorities and the local council. Another meeting is scheduled to be held on Friday to discuss ways of making the Israeli government cancel the taxes.

HEBRON PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

The Israeli military governor of Hebron visited the city's Chamber of Commerce and discussed with its head and members the economic situation in Hebron and problems related to tax payment.

April 29, 1985

8 GAZANS GO ON TRIAL

The Israeli military court in Gaza tried eight youths from Gaza charged with demonstrating, throwing stones at Israeli soldiers, and raising Palestinian flags and portraits of Yasir Arafat.

Four of the youths were acquitted of the charges. They are: Na'im Abu Zineh, Tahsin al-Lahham, Ali Safi, and Tal'at al-Awawdeh. A fifth youth, Khaled Nashwan, was convicted only of being present at the scene of the demonstration, and

Bethlehem University Student Council exhibition of Palestinian art from April 26 to April 28, 1985. The exhibit included paintings and pottery workmanship./AO photo

was given a one-month imprisonment and a similar suspended sentence.

The court sentenced Nahed Abd al-Salam, Ahmad al-Jamal, and Said Ammar to four months in prison, four months suspended, and a heavy fine after convicting them of all the charges.

ISRAELIS OPEN FIRE OUTSIDE KALANDIA

Passengers of an Israeli vehicle stopped their car opposite Kalandia refugee camp on the main Ramallah-Jerusalem highway, fired several shots into the air, and then proceeded on their journey. Israeli troops rushed to the area and launched an investigation into the incident. It is believed that the car had been earlier stoned by local youths from the camp.

3 NAHALIN MEN GET STIFF SENTENCES

Three young men from the village of Nahalin in the Bethlehem district were given sentences of up to nine years in prison on charges of possession of weapons and resisting Israeli occupation. The three — Mohammed Abd al-Majid (nine years' imprisonment) and Adel and Khalil Ghayatah (seven years' imprisonment) — were sentenced by the Israeli military court in Ramallah.

PERES ON SCHOOL VISIT

Students at the Rashidiyeh secondary school in East Jerusalem boycotted classes to protest a visit by Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Peres, accompanied by West Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, visited the boys' school as part of a tour in East Jerusalem.

2 DHEISHEH YOUTHS SENTENCED

The Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Walid Lutfi of Dheisheh refugee camp to two months in prison on security charges. Ali Fu'ad Saleh, also from Dheisheh, was sentenced to four months in prison on the same charges.

April 30, 1985

AL-BIREH SHOPS AND BUS STATION CLOSED FOR SLAIN SETTLER'S MEMORIAL

The central bus station area in al-Bireh closed for several hours as Jewish settlers held a memorial ceremony for Zalman Abulnik, a settler shot dead March 31 in the area by an unidentified gunman. Israeli authorities notified heads of the bus company and owners of shops whose businesses are in the immediate vicinity that the area must be evacuated by 2:00 pm.

Four out of eight shops ordered closed by military authorities following the Abulnik killing reopened. The other four will be allowed to reopen next week.

W. Bank Not South Lebanon

continued from page 5

The arguments within Israeli government circles, demonstrations in major cities, and the general debate in the society at large is a far cry from the public's opinion on the issue of the West Bank and Gaza. There is an argument over the status of the West Bank and Gaza, but the level and frequency of this argument is far from similar. Israeli soldiers are much more split within themselves regarding the viability of the occupation of Lebanon than they are regarding the "liberation of Judea and Samaria."

Despite the differences between the resistance in Lebanon and in the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinians have been waging a resistance campaign aimed at the Israeli presence in Palestine. So far the Palestinian effort has not produced the type of results that the Lebanese resistance has. Without the effective support of Arab countries the Palestinian resistance will remain ineffective and unproductive. In the early years of occupation Palestinian resistance was effective, especially in the Gaza Strip. But the early years of resistance failed to produce concrete results and were brutally suppressed. The sporadic resistance that has taken place since has played more into the hands of Israeli propagandists than it has caused an effective scare in the Israeli army.

For the time being one has to admit that the West Bank and Gaza Strip will not become what south Lebanon is for the Israeli army. For an effective campaign to rid us of the present occupation, a concerted and unified Arab military and political force must be used from the outside, coupled with an equally effective struggle from inside.

Letter to Murphy

This letter by the Palestinian Jewish community, represented by the Neturei Karta Organisation, was remitted to Mr Murphy through a fellow Palestinian at the cocktail reception for him by the representatives of the Palestinian peoples under occupation, at the American Consulate in East Jerusalem on April 16, 1985.

Honorable Undersecretary of State Richard Murphy,

The veteran residents of the Holy Land appreciate your and your government's efforts to temper the friction prevalent amongst the peoples living in Palestine; the indigenous Palestinians — both Arab and Jewish — and, on the other hand, the Zionist newly arrived immigrants who imposed their will over those who had never chosen them to rule over them. The separation of these adversaries is the surest medium and guarantee to remove the friction caused by their constant contact and to avoid innocent bloodshed.

The Palestinian Jewish residents, represented by the Neturei Karta Organisation (NKO), regard the Zionist government as "imposters," who falsely claim to represent the Jewish people and their interests. Just because their lineage certifies their bearing the label "Jew," it does not sanction them to operate a corporation "Israel" or label their produce "Jewish." Judaism and Zionism are diametrically opposed. A Jew is identified by his faith and not by a land bound with limited borders. We are charged by Divine oath not to dominate peoples against their will, especially those residing in the Holy Land.

The establishment of a Palestinian entity incorporated in a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation would afford the autonomous "homeland" of the Palestinian Jewish residents, Mea Shearim and vicinity, an opportunity to be included in this proposed confederation. Thus would we realise our theological command to dissociate ourselves from the heretic sacrilege called "Israel" which is violating the oath of G-d by subjugating other peoples against their will, and thus be spared incurring Divine wrath.

May your efforts succeed with the help of the Al-mighty, and may we be worthy to realise the prophecy of the scriptures: "May the Wisdom of G-d be made known to all of mankind, and to the nations a mutual understanding." May peace always prevail on the peoples of the earth, A-M-E-N.

In the name of the seven-man Supreme Neturei Karta Council,

Rabbi Moshe Hirsch
Secretary, Neturei Karta Council
Jerusalem, Palestine

Childbirth

continued from page 11

be positive, however, if the family wants a girl, if there are already lots of sons, or if the labour was very difficult and they are just thankful the child is alive. During the 40 days after the birth, the family celebrates the cutting off the umbilical cord, the infant's first bath, the infant's first dress, the ear piercing of the girls, and the procedure of *watwata* (rubbing the baby with bat blood to prevent what they believed would be immediate hair growth). The child's name is chosen and important political events at the time of his birth are discussed.

In order for the mother to nurse her infant, she is given special food and drink such as an omelet, made of eggs, wheat, onion, garlic, parsley, and cumim; *mafrokieh*, made of oil, sugar, dough, and honey; and *khawieh*, made of bread, nuts, cinnamon, and ghee (locally produced shortening).

The fourth chapter covers the period between the 40th day until the time of weaning. The 40th day represents the time when the mother's body is cleansed and returns to normal. She resumes her activities as usual. On this day, the Palestinian mother wears her best clothes and prepares delicious dishes.

The fifth chapter covers early childhood, when the mother as well as members of the larger family educate the child through songs and tales. In this period, before the age of three to five, there isn't much difference in dress between males and females. The difference becomes noticeable when the girl wears her first *fustan* (dress), putting a scarf on her head in some cases, and the boy wears his first long trousers. Then there are special games played by boys and others played by girls, as well as a few games they play together.

The boys and girls are taught how to pick up things and run rapidly. Like other children, they are taught to be disciplined, attentive, and cooperative. The songs they sing are a reflection of what they see and observe around them. Often the songs deal with trying to be better than the other or asserting one's uniqueness. The songs deal with animals, hunting, harvest, religious holidays, and someone's eventual wedding.

Tales told to the children serve the purpose of education and entertainment. In a Muslim family, the great-grandmother will begin her story by telling the children: "Say, there is no God but God." The children repeat this phrase. She then says: "Once upon a time... Do you want me to speak or sleep?" The children will say: "Speak." She will then begin her story.

The book gives 21 different tales, mostly on social and religious subjects. In these stories, the children are encouraged to be honest, cooperative, and logical.

This final chapter discusses subjects related to circumcision and the various festivals. Circumcision is seen as the demarcation line separating childhood and manhood. After circumcision, the boy is described as the carrier of the gun, the future bridegroom, and a man sitting among men in the *diwan* (village meeting house).

The book is written entirely for the purpose of documentation and thus lacks detailed analysis which could have shed light on current Palestinian customs and those which should be carried into the future. The authors included a vast number of cultural details without analysing or giving their opinion on these various aspects of culture. Without analysis, the book is basically an encyclopaedia, the aim of which was to present Palestinian culture concerning birth and marriage in a positive light.

In their introduction, the authors explained their more-or-less ambivalent stand towards the book's contents.

In addition to the book's lack of critical stand, it is also repetitive in the sense that many details are repeated throughout the different chapters of the book. This tends to detract from the reader's interest in the material.

The lack of background information and analysis reduced the authors' task to that of mere documentation. They offer no recommendatoins about what are positive elements in the tradition which should be developed and what are negative elements which should be discarded. The authors do not discuss social change in Palestinian society. They do not explain the role of education on the prevalence of tradition, the role of the Palestinian revolution in developing or discarding certain elements of our culture, or the social conflict over tradition between generations.

Although the authors restricted themselves to purely documenting the heritage, they were not comprehensive enough in their research to include all areas of Palestine in their survey. They collected much information but did not mention the names of villages or towns where they conducted interviews. There is no distinction made between traditions practised in the city and in the village, by the more wealthy and the poor, or by the educated and the uneducated sectors of Palestinian society. They did not report on the changes introduced to many Palestinian villages by those educated abroad or by those actively involved in the revolution.

The book does serve the purpose of an encyclopaedia, giving a very limited and general explanation about the importance of having children in Palestinian culture. The authors mention the preference for males but do not give a detailed explanation about why males are preferred. They did not discuss the upbringing of females in any particular detail.

In spite of the lack of analysis, researchers interested in folklore will find this book useful. The authors' purpose of documentation is achieved and serves to encourage other writers interested in folklore to document other aspects of Palestinian culture or to use this material for more analysis of the tradition. This must be done in all the villages of Palestine where our culture and traditions face the constant threat of extinction. ■

Women's Magazines

Raising Political and Social Consciousness

by Awad Abdel Fattah

There has so far been no regular women's magazine published in the occupied territories, but the various local Palestinian women's committees have issued one-time magazines on an annual basis over the last five years concentrating on the conditions and struggle of Palestinian women.

Israeli occupation policy has made it difficult if not impossible to have a licence for a new magazine, especially one that would naturally aim at consciousness-raising. Women's activities have been covered by the existing Palestinian newspapers, but there are constant complaints from women about the insufficient attention given women's issues in these newspapers where the journalists are most often men. Although one or two local newspapers have added a special once-a-week women's page, the content and quality of the articles has not done much to diffuse criticism.

Despite the limited journalistic experience of members of the women's committees, their annual single-issue magazines have appeared with relatively nice composition and good content.

Characteristic of these magazines is their adoption of the struggle of working women, and its connection with the general national Palestinian struggle.

On International Women's Day, ***March 8, two women's magazines appeared on the newsstands.*** One called *Nidal al-Mara'a* (Struggle of Woman) was issued by the Women's Work Committee, and the second called *Nidal al-Mara'a al-Amala* (Struggle of the Working Woman) was issued by the Working Women's Committee. A focus on themes vital to women, and mainly Palestinian women, is a common ingredient of the two. Both adopt the issue of the working woman and this is reflected not only in the magazines' names but also in the articles. There are obvious differences however, in the production quality. The look of *Nidal al-Mara'a* is more professional than its sister publication.

Another important feature is the deep involvement of the writers in Palestinian politics. They make the point that Palestinian women are an integral part of the Palestinian people, and suffer the same suffering resulting from the Israeli occupation. The first article in both magazines analyses the Arafat-Hussein agreement and both take a stand absolutely rejecting it.

Among the main subjects handled in the two magazines are Women's Day activities, the programme and achievements of the Palestinian women's organisations, women and union work, women's role in production in the occupied territories, child care and kindergartens, and women's status in socialist and capitalist regimes, along with tens of other short articles and items.

Nidal al-Mara'a al-Amala

On the front cover, a poster symbolises the liberation of women a drawing of a woman with her hand high, holding a torch and in the other hand she holds the emblem of the organisation. On the back cover, there is the calligraphic slogan for Prisoner's Day, April 17. The production of the magazine is of poor quality but this flaw is only skin deep; the contents are quite professionally written.

Nidal al-Mara'a al-Amala **magazine**

Nidal al-Mara'a **magazine**

In an article carrying the headline "March 8 is a Symbol of Struggle and an Immortal Anniversary," a historical background about the occasion is given. In another article under the headline "March 8 is a Symbol of the Struggle of the Palestinian Woman," there is an explanation about the achievements of the Working Women's Committees. This article reports that the long-adopted demand that March 8 be a paid holiday was achieved in 100 workplaces in the occupied territories in 1982 after a long struggle. It adds, "In 1984, the same demand was honoured in 127 workplaces, and in the current year 1985, this number rose to 163." The rest of the article outlines the activities which have been organised by the committee on March 8, such as rallies and book exhibits.

The next article discusses over three pages the status of women in socialist and capitalist countries. Its writer argues that the women living under socialist regimes enjoy "true equality" and are involved in various aspects of the work force at a much higher percentage than women in capitalist countries. She cites the example that "according to official statistics, in the United States of America the wages of working women are 40 percent lower than those for men. In Western Germany, the difference is 30 percent, in Canada, 61 percent.. while in the socialist countries, there are equal wages."

Also according to the article, in capitalist countries such as France, "only 29 percent of women received professional training, in West Germany 38 percent, in Holland 25 percent..." while in the socialist countries, such as the Soviet Union, "59 percent of the women received professional training, in Bulgaria 47 percent..."

Another important article concerning Palestinian women deals with women's growing role in joining labour unions. This article discusses the growth of the Palestinian working class after 1967 and the process by which Palestinian women began to join the unions. After 1967, the article says the Palestinian woman went into outside production work in the vicinity of her home as well as in Israeli companies. This changed the previously upheld feudal system in which women worked only at home or on their land. According to the article, working women make up 30 percent of the total work force in the occupied territories.

The writer also explains that despite the destructive policy adopted by the Israeli occupation authorities against the Palestinian economy, "the establishment of the women's associations, consisting of the Working Women's Committee, constituted a qualitative leap in the course of the working women's movement and in the Palestinian woman's march for liberation."

Nidal al-Mara'a

The overall production and cover of this 48-page magazine are more appealing and attractive than the *Nidal al-Mara'a al-Amala*. The content is similarly important, and includes more articles.

The first article, which focuses on the Arafat-Hussein agreement, describes this agreement as a "preparatory step towards imposing the liquidationist solution on the Palestinian people." It is followed by a four-page article which centres around the achievements of the Women's Work Committee. Among the main things discussed in this article is the development of the internal structure of the women's organisations. "The Women's Work Committees include today 3000 members hailing from 51 different towns and villages of the West Bank and Gaza Strip," the author writes. The article also outlines the scores of activities organised by the Women's Committees during the past few years, such as literacy courses for women, health courses, and opening kindergartens. They also organised a series of strikes in protest of the difficult detention conditions of female and male Palestinian political prisoners.

The bazaar which was organised on March 3 in which women's organisations' handicrafts, such as embroidery and straw work, were exhibited was fully covered by the magazine with pictures. Next, there was an important scientific article detailing women's role in the production in the occupied territories. This research was done by Farajallah Da'ad and Nabila Barber. They discussed the marginal role played by Palestinian women in production in the Israeli economy. "Because of the policy of economic annexation practised by the Israeli occupation," they write, "a considerable number of Palestinian workers moved into the hired labour market where they were exploited in favour of the Israeli capital. This process created a huge working class and consequently increased the number of women who are subjected as part of the working class to dual oppression and exploitation by Israeli capital." The researchers continue to say that the economy under occupation is incapable of absorbing all the Palestinian working class. "The contribution of women above 14-years-old to the working force in the West Bank reached in 1977 was 12 percent, that is about 24,000 women, leaving some 17,200 women not involved in any outside economic activity."

"The Reality of Oppression of the Palestinian Working Women in the Camps," is the headline of a set of interviews with women workers who live in refugee camps and work in Israeli factories.

The women prisoners also make up a central article in the magazine. Under the headline "The Steadfastness of Palestinian Women Inside Prison," the writer outlines the struggles of Palestinian women prisoners in Israeli prisons for improvement in their detention conditions.

The magazine ends with a short article on the Israeli group Women Against Occupation, which was set up in 1982 following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and which has taken part in Palestinian women's struggles against Israeli occupation. ■